



Leonard Woolf
From a recent photograph

Leonard Woolf

DIARIES

IN

CEYLON

1908-1911

Records of a Colonial Administrator

*Being
the Official Diaries maintained
by Leonard Woolf while Assistant
Government Agent of the Hamban-
tota District, Ceylon, during the
period August 1908 to May 1911*

Edited with a preface by
LEONARD WOOLF

and

Stories from the East

Three Short Stories on Ceylon

by

Leonard Woolf

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INTRODUCTION

PART I—HISTORICAL

In January 1960 Mr. Leonard Sidney Woolf returned to Ceylon in his eightieth year for a brief visit of a few weeks. He was however no stranger to the country for he had been a member of the Ceylon Civil Service from 1904 to 1911 and had after his return to England written a novel, *The Village in the Jungle*, which is generally acknowledged to be the best work of creative writing in English on Ceylon. On his return to this country last year Leonard Woolf was received with much honour and he left the island three weeks after, but not before paying a sentimental visit back to the Hambantota District in which he had spent three very interesting years of his life.

In view of the literary eminence which Leonard Woolf had attained in English literary circles subsequent to his departure from Ceylon and in view of the wide popularity and merit of his book *The Village in the Jungle*, considerable discussion was focussed while Woolf was in Ceylon, on the diaries which were maintained by him while Assistant Government Agent of the Hambantota District from 1908 to 1911. Numerous suggestions were made in the newspapers that these diaries, which were known to exist in manuscript form in the Hambantota Kachcheri be published, while the then Prime Minister the Hon. W. Dahanayake himself directed that they be printed by the Ceylon Government. Very few people however appear to have had any idea of what these diaries really contained and where their value lay, while most persons who were anxious to see them published assumed that the diaries were of a personal and private nature, and would thus be valuable considering the literary standing that Leonard Woolf had attained subsequent to their writing.

This lack of knowledge as to the nature of Woolf's Hambantota Diaries is however understandable because only once before has

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even a small portion of the vast corpus of diaries which the British colonial government in Ceylon required its officials to maintain, been published.¹ The origins of this collection of diaries, of which Woolf's is a very minor part, goes back to the year 1808 when Governor Sir Thomas Maitland required every Collector (subsequently termed Government Agent) of a district to maintain a diary of his work. This requirement was shortly after extended to other heads of departments as well. In pursuance of Governor Maitland's orders daily records of work done was maintained by heads of all provinces and districts and their assistants and all heads of departments from 1808 until 1941 when this requirement was dispensed with. The diaries were meant to contain a full record of work done by each writer and a full description of events and the conditions of their districts. These records were transmitted periodically to Colombo and were read through by the Colonial Secretary and sometimes by the Governor, who found in them the chief means of knowing what was happening in the provinces. A historian could hope for no greater source of information than these diaries, which present a continuous daily record extending over 130 years, of events and conditions in all the different districts of Ceylon.

The present publication of Woolf's Diaries has been undertaken by the *Ceylon Historical Journal* so that attention can be focussed on this vast corpus of diaries which have hitherto remained unknown to students. Woolf's Diaries have been selected as a good introductory to them not only because they are typical of the diaries but because of the wide public interest in them and also since they help to throw some light on the experience in the villages of Hambantota which provided the inspiration for Woolf's celebrated book *The Village in the Jungle*.

THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATORS

The common thread that runs through this vast corpus of diaries is the bond and traditions of the British bureaucracy in Ceylon. The British colonial government ruled Ceylon for 150 years through this bureaucracy in whom all effective powers were

1. The only exception is the diary of Sir John D'Oyly published in 1917. Edited by the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Kandy from 1815 to 1824 and as the Chief Translator

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vested. This bureaucracy consisted of various "Services" manned almost exclusively by Britishers. The chief "Service" was the Ceylon Civil Service, founded in 1802, which was the premier "Service" and the oldest.² Its members were specially selected and had special training, special pay and the exclusive right to hold the most influential and powerful positions in Government, such as membership of the Legislative and Executive Councils and the posts in the central administration in Colombo and in the entire provincial administration. In addition to the Civil Service were a host of lesser "Services" also run by Britishers, confined to the various different departments of government. These 'Services' however never got the opportunity of wielding much power as their members were mostly technical officers, restricted to their own departments and not transferable. They were also of much later origin and never acquired the traditions and power which the Civil Service acquired to itself in its 150 years of existence.³ Not surprisingly, all these 'Services', some of which existed for over a century acquired certain common aims and methods of governing and a common set of ideals which are not without interest today, and which are relevant to a further understanding of the diaries.

Though there were several "Services", the real substance of power however lay with the Civil Service as unlike other 'Services' which were confined to particular departments, Civil Servants were the administrators *par excellence* to whom were entrusted

2. A separate 'Civil Service' of permanent officials was established by the English East India Company for service in its possessions in Bengal, Madras and Bombay in the 18th century. This 'service' which was reorganised and put on a proper footing by Warren Hastings was finally to develop into undoubtedly the most efficient administrative organisation in Asia—the Indian Civil Service, which ruled India for the Company and later for the Crown for nearly 200 years. The Ceylon Civil Service was founded on a much smaller scale but on similar lines by Governor Frederick North in 1802. Its original members were the eight officers whom North brought out with him in 1798, twenty-four others who were sent in September 1801 by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and a few officers from the Madras Civil Service who elected to remain here after the East India Company withdrew from the affairs of Ceylon.

3. Chief among these 'Services' were the members of the Department of the Civil Engineer (later Public Works Department), Survey, Medical, Railway, Irrigation, Forest, Postal and Police Departments. Most of these departments were technical departments with technically trained officers and transferability of officers to posts outside the department was not practicable. Except for the Survey and Public Works Departments which were founded early in the last century, other departments are of comparatively recent origin beginning in the latter part of the last century. Very frequently however Civil Servants were appointed as heads of some of these technical departments also.

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the most responsible posts in government in all departments. The Civil Service was the virtual ruler of Ceylon from 1802 when the service was established upto 1931. What permitted the Civil Service to play such a vital role and so effectively wield power in the colonial administration was the position of supremacy accorded to the service from its inception. From 1802 the service was entrusted not only with executive functions but also with legislative and judicial functions. There was no separation of powers.

Till the growth of the legislature in the twentieth century, when legislation increased and when responsible government in 1931 gave elected representatives the control of the administration, one of the most important functions of the colonial administration was to rule the country by executive action, and this was done through the Civil Service. The central government in Colombo — the offices of the Colonial Secretary, Colonial Treasurer etc. were all manned by Civil Servants while the entire provincial administration on which the whole colonial structure rested was exclusively theirs. They also were the heads of the more important departments. The Civil Service however was nominally under the chief executive of the colonial government, the Governor of Ceylon, but they found ways to even control his powers since they were the members of his Executive Council which decided on all matters of major executive policy.⁴ During the nineteenth century particularly, when the volume of legislation was very small and it was largely an executive government, this major share in executing government policy gave considerable powers to the Civil Service.

The Civil Service apart from being the chief executors of government policy were also the chief legislators. From 1802 to 1832

continued to have an official majority till 1901, though non-officials were given a place on it in the 20th century. The members of the Executive Council were the persons holding the offices of Colonial Secretary, Queen's Advocate, Colonial Treasurer, Government Agent of the Central Province and Officer Commanding the troops. Of the five members, three were Civil Servants.

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the Governor legislated with the advice of a council which consisted mostly of Civil Servants.⁵ In 1832 a Legislative Council was established and vested with sole law making power for the island. This Legislative Council had a majority of "official" members and continued to have an official majority till the reformed Legislative Council of 1921. From 1921 to 1931 also however the "officials" were significantly represented and they exercised a power over certain aspects of legislation. The majority of the "officials" were members of the Civil Service, the persons appointed being the holders of certain specified and important posts. Since almost all the laws passed by the Legislative Council were those which had "official" sanction, the Civil Service who were the officials had a large share in their formulation.⁶

The Civil Service in addition to being the chief law makers and chief executors also had an important share in the judiciary. From 1802 to 1832 the judiciary was chiefly manned by the Civil

5. When Ceylon became a Crown Colony in 1802 an Advisory Council to the Governor was established, The Council's duties however were purely advisory. All laws from 1802 to 1832 were passed by the "Governor in Council." The Council consisted of five persons, the Chief Justice, the Commander in Chief, the Colonial Secretary and two others in the Governor's discretion.

6. The Legislative Council of 1832 consisted of 6 "unofficials" appointed by the Governor from the different local communities and 9 "officials," the officials, being the holders of certain specified posts in Government. In 1889 two more unofficials were added and in 1912 the Council was enlarged to 10 unofficials and 11 officials. In the reformed council of 1921 the unofficials were given a majority for the first time, there being 14 officials against 23 unofficials. Considerable attention has been paid to the composition of the "unofficial" members of the Legislative Council in view of their significance in the development of responsible government in Ceylon. Little notice has however been taken of the officials who were the majority and formulated and passed all the laws of the council for ninety years from 1833 to 1921. The official members from 1833 to 1912 were the Colonial Secretary, the Chief Justice, the Auditor General, the Colonial Treasurer, the Government Agents of the Western and Central Provinces, the Surveyor General, the Collector of Customs and the Officer Commanding the troops. Of the 9 members 6 were Civil Servants. The two new officials added to the Council in 1912 were the Government Agent of the Southern Province and the Principal Civil Medical Officer.

The Legislative Council was established not only for the purpose of passing legislation but also to serve as a check on the unlimited powers of the Governor. The "official" members, were sometimes subject to a "direction" by the Governor on how to vote. Occasions however when "officials" voted against policies recommended to the Council by the Governor were not infrequent. See "Development of the Legislative Councils of Ceylon" by W.J.F. LaBrooy. *The Ceylon Economist* Vol. III, No. 3. Except for official records very little unfortunately has been written about the Legislative Council. One of the most readable books on the subject is *Our Legislature* by J. R. Weinman while of course there are the biographies of those who played an important part in the various Legislative Councils such as C. A. Lorenz, Sir William Gregory, James de Alwis, Sir Richard Morgan, Sir James Peiris, etc.

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Service.⁷ In the 1832 reforms their powers were somewhat reduced when a Supreme Court was established composed of non-Civil Service officers. This court was given appellate jurisdiction over all courts in the island. Apart from the Supreme Court, however the island was divided into a number of circuits or districts and each was placed under a District Judge who held full civil jurisdiction and a limited criminal jurisdiction while criminal courts to deal with lesser criminal offences were established under Sitting Magistrates. Both the offices of District Judge and Magistrate were filled by members of the Civil Service.⁸ This system where Civil Servants held all judicial posts, except on the Supreme Court, continued until the establishment of a separate Judicial Service in the late 1930s.

The powers of the Civil Service were thus supreme; they were the chief executors, the chief legislators and the chief judicial officers, except for the appellate powers and the major criminal jurisdiction held by the non-Civil Service Supreme Court. The only person above the Civil Service was the Governor who was appointed by the Sovereign and who was responsible to the British Parliament for the good government of the country. Several factors however helped the Civil Service to circumscribe even his powers. The persons sent out as governors of Ceylon by the British were never outstanding men. Few educated or able persons were anxious to come to an obscure colony leaving England, and the Governorship of Ceylon was frequently used to help an ex-Member of Parliament recoup his fortunes or to provide positions to younger sons of the British aristocracy. Very often even such persons could not be found and then it was entrusted to distinguished members of the Colonial Service who had served as Governors in the smaller colonies.

7. In 1801 a Supreme Court was established by Royal Charter, this Court consisted of a Chief Justice and a Puisne Judge sent from England. Six Provincial Courts presided by Civil Servants were set up for civil matters throughout the Maritime Provinces and lesser criminal courts under Sitting Magistrates who were Civil Servants were set up for criminal cases. A High Court of Appeal under the Presidentship of the Governor which was largely staffed by Civil Servants was also set up with revisionary powers over the Provincial Courts. This system operated in the Maritime Provinces till 1832 when

8. See *ibid.* p. 107 et seq.

8. The only exception was the District Judgeship of Colombo which was held by a senior member of the Colombo Bar from 1856 and the District Judgeship of Kandy which was given to the Kandy Bar in 1872

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The persons who held the governorship being ordinary men, the Civil Service invariably had its way. They formed a well entrenched organisation which only a man of exceptional ability could overcome. The Civil Service also had certain arguments which a Governor disregarded at his risk. A Governor usually served only for a five year term the Civil Servants spent their entire careers in Ceylon. They were the more intelligent and able men, they were trained administrators with knowledge of local conditions and they had experience of governing the Ceylonese. It was only a rare Governor, who was fresh to the island, who dared to overrule advice with such weighty backing, particularly when an explanation for disregarding such advice had to be made to the Secretary of State. Thus invariably the Governors were content to let the Civil Service rule. Sometimes the Governors were from the Colonial Service or from the 'Ceylon Civil Service itself, then controlling such Governors was an easy task. Long years in the Colonial Service had made them also very much like Civil Servants, they had been trained in the same way and they could always see the point of view of the Civil Service.⁹

Although such considerable powers were vested in the Civil Service and the men who composed it, there was rarely any trace of tyranny in the colonial administration. Often an Assistant Government Agent in a remote district was alone and was both executor of the law and the judge but he rarely exercised power arbitrarily. The reason as to why all the individuals who

9. The British Governors of Ceylon could be roughly classified into three main categories, junior members of the British aristocracy, ex-parliamentarians and senior Colonial Civil Servants. The first category was the commonest, these aristocrats being invariably younger sons of members of the House of Lords who were given their appointments purely on the basis of political patronage. Some of them however did turn out to be very good administrators. Into this group falls Frederick North (later Earl of Guildford) Sir Thomas Maitland (son of the Earl of Lauderdale) Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, Sir James Mackenzie Viscount Torrington (a cousin of the then Prime Minister Lord John Russell) Sir Hercules Robinson (later Lord Rosmead), Sir Arthur Gordon (later Lord Stanmore and son of Prime Minister the Earl of Aberdeen) Sir Joseph West Ridgeway and Sir Robert Chalmers (later Lord Chalmers). The ex-parliamentarians were notably Sir Henry Ward and Sir William Gregory though some in the earlier category too had served as Members of Parliament. Promoted Colonial Civil Servants were George Anderson, H. J. Stanley, Graeme Thomson, Manning, McCullum and Andrew Caldecott while Charles Macarthy, R. E. Stubbs, Hugh Clifford and Henry Moore, were all formerly members of the Ceylon Civil Service before becoming Governors. Among these comparatively ordinary men it is not surprising that the two best Governors Ceylon had were the ex-Members of the House of Commons, Sir Henry Ward and Sir William Gregory. Their parliamentary experience and the fact that they were fresh to colonial government together with their own outstanding ability resulted in their being real Governors who had policies independent of their Civil Service advisors.

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composed the service acted alike and without becoming tyrants, cannot be explained only by the fact that they were dismissable officers or by the fact that they were bound by the rule of law. The explanation as to why such considerable powers were not misused lies largely in the unifying bonds and traditions of the Civil Service. The "Service" throughout one hundred and fifty years had built up a tradition of governing based on certain principles, it was well disciplined and free of corruption and had certain goals to which the government was intended to progress to. These common ideals, traditions and *esprit de corps* of the service is worth examining.

The principles on which the government should be carried out were derived by the "Service" largely from a mixture between the liberal humanitarian and utilitarian ideals of Britain of the early nineteenth century modified by the actual facts of what had to be done in the East. The common aim of the bureaucracy was to improve the economic conditions of the people of the country in the manner in which they felt their lot should be improved. Good government under a rule of law was to be established and the full benefits of western science and economic advancement was to be extended to the largest possible number of people. These ideals soon become the mission, the 'white man's burden', for the British bureaucracy.¹⁰

The implementation of these ideals and the business of ruling could not be done haphazardly. So early in the last century the Civil Service began to take on the appearance of a 'caste'. It was well organised and well disciplined, its members were selected from certain social groups and after selection they were intensively trained for the business of ruling. A strict code of official discipline grew up and it was strictly followed together with an elaborate social code regulating conduct not only among themselves, but

10. Ceylon Civil Service
were simi another service on a
very much ruled India for the
Company. The building up of
such trac is found to recur in
all parts of the British Empire in
considering
were not
Ceylon
had stronger traditions because they were in existence over longer periods.
For a full discussion of the Indian Civil Service attitudes to the ruled, see
K. M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, Philip Woodruff, *The Men
who Ruled India*, 2 volumes and E. Penderel Moon, *Strangers in India*

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between them and other Europeans and the "Ceylonese". The caste sought for and kept power exclusively for themselves.

The significant character of the caste was that it was composed almost exclusively of Europeans. The majority of these persons were British, conscious of England's imperial destiny, conscious of the lead given her by industry and sea power and the fact that their country had been undefeated in war since 1784. The selection to the caste was confined to persons of the British middle class. Upto 1854 only persons who had gone through an education in a public school, Haileybury, were selected and after 1854 those who had been through a University in England.¹¹ The English educational system during this period also being itself exclusive, applicants were invariably from a certain social strata and a certain type — middle class, public school, university, sportsmen etc. After 1854 a cadet to the 'Service' was selected after a stiff competitive examination which made certain he was a man of more than average intellectual ability.

For the Civil Service to wield power effectively the 'Service' had to be well disciplined both in official as well as in private conduct. In the early years of the last century this discipline was not strong, but after 1844 when the entire Civil Service was reformed by Secretary of State Stanley, the Service became the most disciplined body of public servants in Ceylon.¹² This discipline was enforced by certain governmental regulations or "Minutes" which

11. Upto 1854 Cadets to the Civil Service were selected from the Haileybury Entrance Examination which was based on public school standards. In 1854 a competitive examination was substituted for which only graduates of British Universities could enter. This examination was held by the Civil Service Commissioners in England and persons were selected on its results to the Eastern Civil Service (*i.e.* for Ceylon, Hongkong and Malaya). Both before and after 1854 however the Governor of Ceylon had the right of nominating persons to the Service. In 1870 however the Governor's nominees were also required to sit for the competitive examination which was held simultaneously in both England and Ceylon. In 1880 the competitive examination was held in England only and the Governor was deprived of the right of nominating candidates. In 1896 one examination was held in London on the results of which persons were selected to the Home Civil Service, the Indian Civil Service and the Eastern Civil Service.

12. The Civil Service which was rapidly developing into a well organised service in the early years of the last century received a setback with the Colebrooke Reforms of 1833. The number of posts were reduced while salaries were drastically cut, pensions were abolished and with the reduced posts promotions prospects became negligible. These factors shattered the morale of the Service but certain remedial measures were taken in 1837 when the salaries of junior Civil Servants were increased. The subsequent reforms by Lord Stanley in 1844 however restored the service to its position of pre-eminence and to its former efficiency.

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laid down official behaviour and the terms of service. The Service was graded according to seniority and there was a strict hierarchical structure. Seniority was respected and invariably brought its due reward with posts carrying high salaries often irrespective of individual abilities. Salaries likewise were fixed at very high levels, thus enabling the bureaucrat to devote his full attention to his work and not be bothered with financial problems. The pay was more than what a person of his qualifications could earn in the United Kingdom and there was the added advantage of a pension after retirement, and pensions for his wife and children in case of sudden death. The high pay had another advantage that the Civil Servant did not have to take part in either trade or planting to subsidise his salary, which not only made for inefficient work but also opened the door to corruption. In fact both planting and trading were expressly forbidden by government regulations.¹³ All these conditions of service which provided for proper official conduct such as pay, recruitment, seniority, pensions, promotion to grades, examinations, etc. were all laid down in governmental instructions, later called the Civil Service Minutes.

These 'Minutes' however only provided for official conduct, but private conduct was also strictly regulated by the traditions that grew up over the years. The traditions of the service were soon instilled into young cadets on their arrival. They were to be exclusive, social mingling with the "Ceylonese" was virtually taboo and with the planters and traders even of their own community was permitted, but only to the extent to which it did not affect their work. The Civil Servant moved in exclusive clubs hotels etc. while in the provinces especially an elaborate social organisation centred round the Government Agent was built up.

13. Private trading by Civil Servants was forbidden by Governor Maitland in 1802. This prohibition was later extended to include planting. The prohibition was unfortunately extended and enforced against "Ceylonese" Civil Servants who began to enter the Service in strength with the twentieth century.

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This social code, which even provided for such minor items as "visiting", was strictly followed.¹⁴

What further added to this sense of discipline was the intensive training for wielding responsibility that a recruit to the caste underwent after appointment. This training began almost from the day he arrived in Ceylon after his selection. As a member of the 'caste' he was treated with a deference and respect by his subordinates almost to the point of embarrassment, while he was given authority which he would not in the United Kingdom have attained without at least 20 years experience.¹⁵ He felt confident that what he did would be supported and that what he did would be understood by his superiors. The young bureaucrat was sent through a strenuous training under senior officials, particularly in the traditions of the service. He was usually sent first as a Magistrate to learn law and court procedure. Then on to being an Office Assistant to learn office administration, then as Assistant Government Agent to run a district though under the supervision of a Government Agent, and so on with postings in the central administration in Colombo thrown in-between. A young officer was required to work in all the different departments in which he may be called to serve on later, both in the provinces and the central government, and thus soon acquired an understanding of the whole administrative machinery which members of non-transferable 'closed services' did not get. The young Civil Servant was also required to learn the languages of the country.¹⁶

This complicated training in work as well as in the traditions of ruling and the strong public and private code of discipline was enforced uniformly against every member of the Service including

14. It was very necessary that the Civil Servant conform to the traditions of the Service and behave with propriety and respect accepted social conventions. The slightest breach resulted in dismissal and a voyage home to England. One of the best known cases was that of le Mesurier in the last century who became a Muslim convert under the second name of Abdul Hamid in order to marry a second wife. He was dismissed for this even though the situation was a perfectly legal one and did not concern the government in any way. For the views of one who refused to conform and returned to England in disgust, see Smythe, *Ceylon Commentary*.

15. It was not unusual for a cadet with a few days service and with no knowledge of either the law or the local languages to be appointed a Police Magistrate and given in charge of a Court.

16. This requirement was also laid down by Governor Maitland early in the last century, the languages the Civil Servant having to master being Sinhalese and Portuguese which was then in common use. In 1824 Tamil was substituted for the latter. This requirement which was loosely followed in the next few decades was however made a vital part of the young Civil Servant's training after the Reforms of 1845.

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the Ceylonese who began to enter the Service in numbers with the turn of the last century.¹⁷

remarkable efficiency and loyalty to the Colonial Government found that when sufficiently senior to be a Government Agent he was instead appointed to the comparatively powerless post of Registrar General and when sufficiently senior to act as Colonial Secretary he was instead promoted to the first class

appointed an Assistant Government Agent in charge of a district was C.L. Wickremasinghe who was given the smallest and the most unimportant assistant agency, Mannar as late as 1923. He was also the first Ceylonese to be appointed a Government Agent, a non-European of the first class in the Administration in Colonial Ceylon. His appointment as

Though Ceylonese Civil Servants were not allowed to hold the plums of the public service however they were still the social lions in their own communities. They were the only 'natives' to become members of the exclusive ruling caste and were thus looked upto in every respect, in the absence of a legislature wielding power they were the only Ceylonese holding offices of authority, while they were also in a position of command over the local 'army'

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This elaborate training however tended to cast persons into a mould. By the time a recruit had gone through his training and spent several years in the "Service", his imagination was dead and he had learnt that fire and zeal had to be toned down if he was to be a success. When he finally got to the top when he had liberty of independent action most of his earlier drive and initiative had been lost. The result of this training was a Civil Servant who worked very hard and with a high sense of public duty but with a good deal of uniformity and a certain lack of individuality.¹⁸ This training also did not provide for any sympathy with local aspirations, particularly political aspirations. The Civil Servant was only trained in 'good government' as the Service knew it and training the ruled in 'self government' was unnecessary. Of course the service consisted of several hundred individuals spread over 150 years and no general judgment could be made to cover all. But if such a judgment were to be attempted however, it could be said that they were men of more than average ability, very much like each other, keen on promoting the welfare of the Ceylonese people, but wanting in imagination and sympathy.¹⁹

crazy' of the traditional feudal families of dissawas, ratemahatmayas and mudaliyars. Thus considerable social prestige attached to the local civil servant and the ambition of most Ceylonese middle class families was to see their sons in the Civil Service. Similarly the new bourgeoisie which grew up in the country based on wealth acquired through trade and plantations found a short cut to joining the ruling caste by marrying their daughters to Civil Servants, with of course large dowries. This social snobbery and the non-implementation against Ceylonese Civil Servants of Lord Stanley's prohibition against owning property and indulging in trade, either directly or through marriage, made local Civil Servants rich and influential members of their communities.

18. Even if a Civil Servant personally felt that what Government asked him to do was wrong and unjust by the people, the traditions were such that he still carried out orders, though he might perhaps protest before doing it. Woolf himself stuck to the pattern while he was here. For example he strongly felt that chenas were necessary, as is evident even from his *The Village in the Jungle*, but he very ruthlessly executed Government's policy of denying chena permits. To reduce the injustice of the law by enforcing it less rigorously never occurred, as happens frequently today. One did not do this but resigned. This is what Woolf did. As he himself admitted fifty years later when he revisited Ceylon last year "I resigned because I did not like being an imperialist and ruling people", quoted in *Ceylon Observer* 6th March '60.

19. Surprisingly no complete history of the Ceylon Civil Service in its one hundred and sixty years of existence, which in effect ruled Ceylon for the British, has been written. It is a subject well worth study. One small book *Annals of the Ceylon Civil Service* by J. R. Toussaint which consists of biographical notes on members of the service in the last century is about the only published work while there is also in the Archives an unpublished history of the Service in the early British period prepared by a Civil Servant E. B. F.

footnote continued on p. xx.

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The benefits of being ruled by such a class of administrators were considerable. They afforded 'good government' and built up a good administration based on the rule of law. It was remarkably free of corruption and being manned by non-Ceylonese showed no favour to any particular caste or community. The interests of the less vocal masses of society in particular were looked after from exploitation, either by the new Ceylonese middle class or by the planting or mercantile classes of their own community.²⁰ The "good government" so afforded introduced the benefits of western science and civilization, medicine and health services, education, roads, irrigation and most of the other innovations that have gone to make Ceylon a modern state. The 'caste' also had the advantage that it afforded through its traditions a continuity to government policy.

Sueter. Professor Lennox Mill's *Ceylon Under British Rule* gives considerable information on the development of the Service, its structure, pay, pensions etc. In contrast a considerable amount of study has been devoted to the Indian Civil Service. On the abolition of the Service in 1943, the I.C.S. Association commissioned the writing of a history of the Service which was published in two volumes in 1954. Philip Woodruff's *The Men who Ruled*

20 This would appear to be a surprising statement to make when the Civil Service was only the instrument of British imperial and capitalist interests whose aim was the economic exploitation of the colonies. The Civil Service however in its traditions built up over the years did set itself up certain independent goals such as championing the broad masses of the people whom they were 'serving' against both the local educated classes as well as their own community. The service frequently had policies independent of both Whitehall and local British interests based on what the Service considered the genuine interests of the country. Before the development of nationalism there was much to commend this view. It is only by this that one can explain the attitude taken by the government i.e. the Civil Service who were the "officials" in the Legislative and Executive Councils and advising the government on the future of the colony.

on roads and railways to benefit their own interests. The officials objected strongly to this on the grounds that the Burghers and Europeans did not in any way represent the majority of the people. The officials had their day. In 1865 the acting Governor Major General Hodgson turned down the agitation for reform from the "unofficials" with the words, "In a country where the dominant class bear but a very small proportion to the bulk of the population, where their interests are often different, perhaps conflicting, the real responsibility must always remain with the government, and to make the government equal to such responsibility you must yield to it power and authority". See *Our Legislature* p. 41.

Footnote continued on p. xii.

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As against these benefits however there were the corresponding disadvantages. Of course the most important one is that good government was no substitute for self-government. The British Civil Servants offered good government and administration and progress according to what they considered good government and administration and progress. Being quite certain within themselves of what was required for the country, they were intolerant of other views. The views of the people who were ruled did not matter very much, nor were serious attempts made till late in the twentieth century to train them for self-government. The bureaucracy was strangely unsympathetic of local political aspirations.²¹ The caste was besides too entrenched, it had its pre-

The independence which the Ceylon Civil Service showed against the dictates of Whitehall and local British capitalist interests was however insignificant compared to that shown by the Indian Civil Service. The classic example of this was the cotton import duties. They were abolished in 1879 by Lord Lytton in the interests of free trade and Lancashire. The measure was regarded by Lord Lytton's Council of I.C.S. men as contrary to India's interests and the Council protested. They continued to protest and in 1894 the import duties on manufactured cotton were re-imposed but a corresponding excise duty was clapped on Indian cotton. The Council again objected and was overruled but the protests were so strongly expressed that the Secretary of State wrote back to say that "once a policy had been adopted under the direction of the cabinet it becomes a clear duty of every member of the Government of India to consider how effect may best be given to that policy". See Woodruff, *The Guardians* p. 91. and Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance* p. 121 et seq.

21. By this I mean that the great majority were uninterested. In dealing with a 'service' which consisted of well over a thousand individuals spread over one hundred and fifty years there were in fact many exceptions. One of the most notable was H. R. Freeman who after retiring from the Government Agency of the North Central Province served on the State Council for many years as the elected representative of the people of his province. He was the first champion of the cause of the Dry Zone peasant.

Lack of sympathy with local aspirations did not however prevent members of the Civil Service from making some of the most valuable contributions to the study of Ceylon's past culture and civilization. In every field of scholarship concerning Ceylon, Civil Servants have left behind a lasting contribution. To take for example one field, that of Pali learning, George Turnour first edited and translated the *Mahavamsa*, R. C. Childers compiled the first Pali English Dictionary and T. W. Rhys Davids founded the Pali Text Society. Both Childers and Rhys Davids subsequently served as Professors of Pali and Buddhist Literature in the University of London. In the field of history the names of Codrington, and Paul E. Peiries are only too well known while H. C. P. Bell founded archaeology in Ceylon. Besides these were several other Civil Servants who published valuable work; on Ceylon, some of the better known names being those of John D'Oyly, Ievers, le Mesurier, Lee, J.P. Lewis, Anthony Bertolacci, E. L. Layard, J. W. Bennett, William Tolfrey, E.L. Mitford, Hugh Nevill, W. E. Wait, Major Thomas Skinner, Emerson Tennant, H. White and E. B. Denham. All these contributions to scholarship were however purely academic exercises and marked by an almost clinical objectivity. The writers had no special sympathy for the Ceylonese people and it is doubtful if they ever understood the spirit of the civilisation they took such pains to elucidate. Sir Robert Chalmers who crushed the 1915 disturbances with such ruthlessness was one of the greatest Pali scholars of his day.

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judices and acted on them. They did not see eye to eye with any Governor who did not approve of policies drafted by them, such as for example when opposing well intentioned Governors such as Sir John Anderson. In this sense they formed a powerfully entrenched vested interest with ramifications throughout the entire administration which was able to set at nought any proposal other than what received their approval²²

willing at least to try to adjust themselves remained. These retirements rights were availed of particularly in 1948 by the majority of European officers.

which held power in the State Council and this government had found the Civil Service a suitable instrument of its

service in Ceylon though the upper middle class government of the United National Party was ousted at the polls in 1956. No greater proof can be adduced, than the fact that several successive governments have found it expedient to continue the service, in support of the view that the civil service has very successfully transformed itself from a caste of despots to a modern civil service answerable to Ministers and to a responsible legislature. Today there are many cogent arguments for extending the privileges enjoyed by the Civil Service to a unified administrative service, but the argument that it is "colonial" in the sense that its members are unable to adjust themselves to working under ministers and a legislature is not correct.

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In the well ramified bureaucratic structure of the colonial government in Ceylon the provincial administration of the Government Agents and their Assistants played a major role. The origins and development of the provincial administration under the British from 1796 to 1948 and the powers which the Government Agents exercised *vis-a-vis* the central government are briefly discussed below.

The main factor which guided the administrative structure first set up by the British in Ceylon was the lack of speedy communication between Colombo and the provinces. The administration had therefore necessarily to be one in which the central government was weak and the real power was vested in the provincial rulers. The colonial administrative system was a simple one and remained comparatively unchanged in its essentials from the beginning of British rule in 1796 to the inauguration of the Donoughmore Constitution in 1931. There was a central government in Colombo of which the nominal head was the Governor. The chief executive and the head of the Public Service was the Colonial Secretary²³ while there was a Colonial Treasurer in charge of revenue²⁴ and an Auditor and Accountant General²⁵ in charge of accounts. These three officers of course had a number of subordinates under them whose powers and numbers grew with the increasing centralisation of the government.

23. The chief executive officer of the government and the head of the public services including the Civil Service was the Colonial Secretary. He was the chief advisor of the Governor and prepared the annual budget for the Legislative Council and the annual report to the Colonial Office on the affairs of the colony known as the Blue Book. The post was created in 1798 and was first occupied by Hugh Cleghorn. The holder of the office was also known as the Chief Secretary in the early British Period but subsequently it was redesignated Colonial Secretary which was the title used till the inauguration of the Donoughmore Constitution in 1931. After 1931 the post was once again known as Chief Secretary. The post was sometimes filled from outside the Civil Service by the Secretary of State for the Colonies from either the staff of the Colonial Office or from a Crown Colony, but usually it was held by the most senior member of the Civil Service. The Colonial Secretary had several Civil Servants and a large staff to assist him in Colombo. See Lennox Mills, *Ceylon Under British Rule* p. 95.

24. The Colonial Treasurer was concerned with the collection and expenditure of revenue. He received the accounts of the Assistant Treasurer and the Government Agents for all revenue collected in their districts and had charge of all money paid into the Treasury. No money could be drawn out without the signed warrant of the Treasurer. The post was held exclusively by members of the Civil Service. See Mills, p. 95.

25. The duties of the Auditor and Accountant General and Controller of Revenue extended beyond the audit of accounts. As Auditor he had the power to advise the Governor to abolish any post which he considered superfluous while he also saw that money was regularly and uniformly collected and accounted. The officers holding this post were also members of the Civil Service. See Mills, p. 95.

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The main strength of the colonial administration however lay not in Colombo but in its provincial organisation. The island was divided into a number of territorial units each of which was in charge of a member of the Civil Service, variously titled at different times as Collector, Agents of Government, Resident and Govt. Agent. These officers usually had other Civil Servants to assist them, such as Assistant Government Agents, Office Assistants, Cadets, etc. Each of these territorial units were subdivided into divisions every one of which was under a 'native' chief headman, who had under him a whole hierarchy of lesser officials²⁶ Except for the Government Agent and his immediate assistants the rest of the administration consisted of 'native' officials, but the system worked efficiently for the British as it was a continuation of an older administration organisation.

The office of the Government Agent and Assistant Government Agent were only created consequent to the Colebrooke Cameron Reforms in 1833, but the concept of a chief executive and revenue officer for a particular territorial area responsible direct to the centre of power and ruling through a hierarchy of lesser officials was nothing new. The feudal Sinhalese administrative system was similar in many ways, distinct territorial areas being controlled by disawas on behalf of the king. The Portuguese and Dutch continued the same system in Ceylon. This system of administration was essentially feudal in its conception and the British system of provincial government was different only in that firstly the officers were subject to the rule of law and secondly the separation of judicial from executive functions, particularly in the latter period.

When the British took over the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon from the Dutch in 1796 they continued with the three districts into which the Dutch had carved out their territories. Each district was placed under an Assistant Resident who was responsible for its administration and the collection of revenue. The British however made the error of not retaining the services of the 'native' headmen and instead brought down a whole hierarchy of lower

²⁶ The divisions to which each district was subdivided were usually the older Sinhalese divisions of patus, korales, etc and were also known by their previous Sinhalese and Tamil names. The chief 'native' headman in village headmen's divisions

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officials from Madras.²⁷ The system was not a success, and in 1798 the British territories were redivided into four districts by Governor North and each given in charge of a Collector, while the hierarchy of 'native' officials was reinstated. The title of Collector was abolished in 1800 with Ceylon becoming a Crown Colony and substituted with that of Agent of Revenue and Commerce, the four territorial divisions being raised to eight. This change too did not last long and in 1808 a further reform was made by Governor Maitland who reintroduced the title of Collector and raised the number of Collector's districts from eight to ten. After the conquest of the Kandyan Kingdom in 1815 an administrative organisation for this territory became necessary, and a Resident was appointed to Kandy with four Assistant Residents in charge of the four territorial districts into which the Kandyan Kingdom was divided. After the 1818 rebellion the Kandyan Kingdom was again subdivided into eleven districts, each of which was placed under an Agent of Government, these officials being responsible to a Board of Commissioners in Kandy and through the Board to the Governor.²⁸

In 1833 consequent to the Colebrooke recommendations the two different administrative systems for the Maritime Provinces and the Kandyan Provinces were unified and a new system intro-

27. The conquest of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon from the Dutch in 1796 was by the English East India Company which continued to rule this territory from Madras for the next two years. Shortly after the conquest the Company discontinued all the local Mudaliyars and lesser officials and appointed persons from Madras called aumildars, gumastas, etc, to do their work. The experiment was not a success and was discontinued when the methods of revenue collection of the aumildars provoked a rebellion in 1797. The only legacy of the East India Company rule from Madras is the word 'Kachcheri' which was the Hindustani name given by the aumildars to their revenue collection offices. The word has come into common use in Ceylon being used still to refer to the offices of the Government Agents.

28. As the security of the British occupation was in doubt in many of the Kandyan areas after the rebellion, greater military control was necessary and some of the Agents of Government were not Civil Servants but military officers with garrisons under them. These military officers continued as Agents until their retirement when they were replaced by Civil Servants. Those in service in 1833 were reappointed as Assistant Government Agents with the reorganisation of the provincial system. Three of the best known of these provincial rulers from the military were Major Rogers who was Assistant Government Agent in Alupota and later Badulla from 1828 to 1845, Lt. Colonel J. Campbell author of *Excursions, Adventures and Field Sports in Ceylon* who was Agent in the Seven Korales and Nuwarakalaviya and Major J. Forbes, Agent at Matale and author of *Eleven Years in Ceylon*. Six of the nine Agents of Government in 1818 and nine of the eleven Agents in 1831 were military officers. Apart from security reasons appointing military officers was very much cheaper to government than Civil Servants.

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duced. The entire island was divided into five provinces—the Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western and Central provinces, and each province was placed in charge of a Government Agent. Each province was further subdivided into a number of districts, each district being placed in charge of an Assistant Government Agent who acted under the general control and supervision of the Government Agent of the province, who was responsible direct to the Colonial Secretary. This provincial administrative system introduced in 1833 has continued with few changes to the present day.²⁹ In 1845 a new province the North Western Province was created and this was followed by the North Central Province in 1873 and the Uva and Sabaragamuwa Provinces in 1886 and 1889 respectively.

Initially the duties and powers of the provincial administration were considerable. The Government Agents were the chief representatives of the government in their areas and were vested with all the executive authority of the state. They were responsible direct to the Colonial Secretary and through him to the Governor. Their chief duties were to see through the "native" headmen that the people remained loyal to the government and that law and order was maintained. Secondly they were 'revenue officers', whose duty was to see that all revenue due to government was collected and all dues from government were disbursed properly. They were besides the chief executive officers of the government who implemented the laws and also did work for other departments which did not have a provincial organisation

29. Even after Ceylon became independent in 1948 the provincial administration through the Government Agents and their Assistants has been continued. The only significant changes made were those brought by the Administrative Districts Act of 1954 by which Assistant Agents in charge of districts were titled Government Agents. The Government Agents in charge of provinces was thus done away with and each Government Agent had authority only

... was, rathamattmayas, mudaliyars etc. who were in charge of divisions were gradually discontinued beginning in 1939, and a new grade of transferable officers called Divisional Revenue Officers introduced to take their place. These officers were selected after a competitive examination and were transferable within Tamil, Low Country and the Kandyan areas. This was a decisive and definite break with old traditions and brought an end to the local 'feudal' system which had come down from ancient times. The grade of superior headmen was also gradually discontinued by no new appointments being made, and was finally abolished in 1961. The grade of Village Headmen who had traditionally been recruited from influential families in the villages was likewise abolished in the following year and substituted with Grama Sevakas, officers recruited on a competitive examination and transferable

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of its own. In an overall sense their duty also was to see that the prosperity of the people was increased. Of course throughout the 150 years of British rule, one or the other of these duties received greater emphasis at particular times, but basically these were and have continued to be the duties of the Government Agents and the provincial administration.³⁰

Such wide powers entrusted to the provincial rulers could if improperly used result in the oppression of the people but these powers were limited by two factors. Firstly all administrators were subject to the rule of law enforced through the courts and second, and more important, every member of the administration was a member of the Civil Service, which had a certain tradition of ruling, beyond the limits of which none transgressed. Here the 'Service' played a vital role, its traditions laid down a system of paternalistic and benevolent rule. Only senior members of the 'Service' who had at least twenty years seniority were given charge of provinces, and these traditions were enforced without a single exception.

The powers which the provincial administration exercised initially however underwent a gradual change in the 150 years of British rule. The vesting of wide powers in the provincial administration was necessary largely because of the lack of proper communication which made central control impossible. There were no roads or railways initially, and a trip or a letter to some of the provincial capitals took several days. The telegraph and telephone system was unknown. No consultation with Colombo was possible therefore in any urgent matter and considerable powers of independent action had therefore to be given to the Government Agents.³¹ But once a good system of roads, railways and telecommunications grew up in the latter half of the last century,

30. The powers and duties of the provincial administration and the Government Agent has never been expressly laid down at any time. Theirs were general functions, to represent the central government and exercise its powers and duties in the provinces. The closest there is to a definition of functions is Governor Maitland's famous Minute of 1808 which was quoted as such as late as 1881 by Dickman in his *Civil Service Manual*.

31. Government Agents were more or less on their own in the provinces and soon became petty rulers in their own right. This was largely possible because they were also not transferred often. For example P. A. Dyke appointed Collector (later Government Agent) Jaffna in 1829 held that office till 1867. He was known as 'Rajah of the North' and the *Colombo Observer* commented on his death in 1867 as follows :- "Notwithstanding his austerity however, the natives always felt that Mr. Dyke was a friend, because he took such an absorbing interest in native affairs, and because he defended their claims against all classes". Dyke's successor W. C. Twynam was Government Agent from 1867 to 1896. Toussaint, p. 81, and 113.

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greater control from Colombo was possible and was enforced.³² This increasing central control gradually reduced the powers of the provincial administration. A second factor also caused by the growth of communications which worked in the same direction was the increase of departments centred in Colombo. Hitherto there had been only a few departments and these were content with working through the Government Agents, but with the work of government increasing and diversifying, additional departments were created and many of these departments soon acquired a separate provincial organisation, independent of the administration of the Government Agents

The other great factor in reducing the powers of the provincial administration was of course the growth of representative government, beginning with the 1921 Reforms and the grant of responsible government with the Donoughmore Constitution in 1931. Representative and responsible government meant that greater central control was enforced from Colombo as the legislature, consisting of elected representatives of the people, wished to exercise a greater control over the executors of policy both in the central and the provincial governments. The elected representatives in the legislature rather than Government Agents and other administrators also became the medium through which the people placed their problems before the government. The development of the legislature particularly after the grant of responsible government in 1931, also resulted in the passage of a large amount of legislation which curbed the independent powers of action which had been exercised by the Government Agents. Similarly the growth of local government institutions particularly after 1931 reduced their powers,³³ while in the 1930's executive officers of the provincial administration were relieved of their judicial powers.

32 To establish some uniformity in provincial administration an annual Government Agents Conference was first begun in 1873 by Governor Sir William Gregory. These conferences have been held regularly for the last ninety years.

33 Municipal Councils were established by an Ordinance in 1855. The Councils had a majority of elected members as well as nominated members. The intention was that these Councils would give some measure of training in self government to the Ceylonese. The Government Agent of the province

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Thus from being virtually absolute rulers over their districts, the powers of the Government Agents began to gradually decline, till they have become minor officers in the complicated machinery of administration in Ceylon. From being rulers they have become mere executors of policy over the formulation of which they have no control. This process was however a gradual one which went hand in hand with greater centralisation due to better communications, growth of independent departments and above all the growth of a legislature which meant not only centralisation and greater control over the execution of policy but also the passage of a considerable amount of legislation which reduced the independent powers of action of the Government Agents. The Government Agents' powers are now largely confined to statutory ones though they are nominally the chief representatives of the government in their districts.³⁴

THE DIARIES

It is in the context of this colonial administrative organisation that the diaries can be understood. As already seen the central government in Colombo held few powers particularly in the 19th century, and administered the country mainly through a powerful provincial organisation of Government Agents (earlier termed Collectors, etc) and their Assistants to whom considerable powers were delegated. Some means had therefore to be devised by which a detailed account of the work done by each Government Agent and the happenings in his province could be brought to the notice of the central government. The method adopted was to get the Government Agents and their Assistants to keep daily diaries, which were periodically transmitted to Colombo for the information of the Governor and other officers of the central government, such as the Colonial Secretary and the Controller of Revenue. This need to keep a check on what was happening in the provinces was important, particularly in the early years of British rule, when the powers of the Government Agents were very much greater and lack of communications left them more or less on their own.

The requirement to maintain diaries was laid down as early as 1808 by Governor Sir Thomas Maitland who made a complete

34. Nominally a Government Agent still exercises considerable powers over all departments. Thus every Government Agent is a Superintendent of Police, Superintendent of Prisons, Fiscal, District Registrar etc.

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reorganisation of the administration of the Maritime Provinces held by the British³⁵ Governor Maitland laid down that every Collector should move closely with the people and travel extensively in his province to know the conditions in which they lived. His famous minute, which reorganised the provincial administration and which incidentally laid down the requirement to maintain diaries, is worth quoting from at length, particularly as it indicates the methods through which the colonial government wished its administrators to rule and also as it laid down what was to be the *magna carta* of the provincial administration and of the institution of the Government Agent for well over a hundred years.

"The first great object for every Collector is to make himself acquainted with the various districts in his Province, and the various headmen belonging to such districts, by making frequent circuits through the whole of the province.

"It is by adopting this measure alone, that any Collector can get at a thorough knowledge either of the real character of the headmen under him, or of the actual situation of the country over which he presides.

"Government has a right to expect that such circuits of the Collector must be and will be attended with the happiest consequences to the district over which he presides and though it does not from the uncertainty of the climate, fix any stated period for doing so, still it is clearly to be understood that each Collector is within the year, as the season or other circumstances may render it expedient in his mind to make one complete circuit of the whole of his district, during which circuit he is to keep a most minute diary of his proceedings and which diary is, at the close of the circuits to be transmitted to the government through the Commissioner of Revenue.

"It must be unnecessary here to add that the Government expects that in all instances, and on every occasion the greatest moderation be displayed to the whole of the natives by the Collectors. That, the power delegated by the Government to the Collectors, be made use of with consideration and forbearance and that they consider the only mode of ensuring the respect and conciliating

³⁵ For a full discussion of Sir Thomas Maitland's administration see Colvin R. de Silva *Ceylon Under the British Occupation* Vols I & II and the *Colonial Administrations of Sir Thomas Maitland* by C. Willis Dixon.

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the feelings of the natives to be, by adopting a line of conduct at once firm, but moderate and considerate.

“Neither can it be necessary to state, that the true interests of Government never can be to harass the Natives, with a view to immediate profit, but that on the contrary, the sole object of Government, is and always ought to be considered to be, to ensure the prosperity of the island, solely thro’ the medium of generally increasing the prosperity and happiness of the Natives under His Majesty’s Government.”³⁶

As a result of the above Minute all Collectors in the Maritime Provinces began to maintain daily records of work done and the conditions of their districts. Shortly after the same requirement was enforced on all heads of departments and after the Kandyan Kingdom was annexed in 1815, the Board of Commissioners and the Residents were also compelled to maintain these records. In 1833 with the reorganisation of the administration of the entire island consequent to the Colebrooke Reforms, the system of Government Agents and their Assistants was begun, and the same requirement was extended to them as well. This system of provincial administration through Government Agents has lasted to this day. Thus the series of diaries which were begun in 1808 continued unbroken throughout the 19th century and well into the 20th century.

As already discussed elsewhere, however, the powers and responsibilities of the provincial administration and the Government Agents gradually decreased in the course of time and with the 20th century when good communications made centralisation possible and responsible government made centralisation necessary, the purposes for which the writing of diaries had been decided on no longer held good. Daily details of work done by each Government Agent was of not much use to the government in Colombo because this work was largely routine and mostly that laid down by statutes. Keeping Colombo informed of events in the districts was also now unnecessary with the growth of communications, while the elected members of the legislature took over the role played by Government Agents as the medium through which the people placed their problems before the government. With this gradual decrease in the importance of the work of the Government Agents and with their responsibilities being reduced,

36. G. C. Mendis. *The Colebrooke Cameron Papers*, (Vol. 11. p. 265-266.) reproduces Maitland’s Minute of 1808 in full.

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the diaries also began to mean less and less in Colombo and in 1941 the requirement to maintain them was dispensed with. Instead Government Agents and all heads of departments were required to submit monthly reviews of work done to government.

During the one hundred and thirty years in which the diaries were written however, Governor Maitland's wish that the diaries should record the conditions of the people and happenings in each district and the daily work done by the officer in charge was faithfully carried out. Maitland's instructions were in fact too meticulously carried out and almost every single diary is replete with this information. The diaries also in the course of time began to serve a second purpose in that they became the means through which successive holders of each post knew what their predecessors had done. This was very useful since by merely reading through his predecessor's diaries for several years a new officer could very easily find out the exact condition of his new district. In this sense the diaries provided a continuity to the administration of each district, which was important and necessary particularly in the early years of British rule, when ordinances and directives from Colombo were few and most decisions were *ad hoc* ones made by the individual Government Agents and not often put down in files. This secondary use of the diaries serving as reports for future holders of the post was also fortunate because this resulted in the diaries being very carefully preserved and maintained, at least during the British colonial administration.

The contents of the diaries could be conveniently divided into four categories. Firstly it records in detail what the writer, Government Agent or Assistant Government Agent, did for the day. In the days when the administration was centred round him as the chief representative of the government in his district, and when few departments had an independent provincial organization, this usually provides a record of all important government work including development projects, undertaken in the district. Secondly the diaries include a record of important happenings in the district which the writer has himself been through or which he has heard about. These usually vary from say a riot or other calamity to an important visitor or meeting. Thirdly the diaries contain accounts of the condition of the people of the district, descriptions of how they lived, their crops, their means of livelihood, difficulties etc. These too are usually observations of the writer taken down while on circuit or reports of reliable witnesses such as other government servants. Finally the diaries contain a re-

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cord of any event or happening, or something seen or read, which has struck the interest of the writer. This type of entry was not of particular interest to the government in Colombo but the custom grew for the writers to record such trivialities because they were novel and unusual for their experience. In these random jottings lie another unexpected item of value for the scholar. For example diaries record social customs, habits, ceremonies etc., which were unusual and interesting. These are of immense value as many of these customs and ceremonies have since disappeared, and the diaries may be in fact the only records of them. To quote an example, the diaries of the Government Agents of the Eastern Province, contain a good deal of information on Veddah customs and life, which were recorded fifty or sixty years before early anthropologists like Seligman and others began studying them in the 20th century. The amount of such extraneous information contained in the diaries of course differs with the individuality of the writer. Some Government Agents were strictly matter of fact while others have written liberally on non-administrative matters. In this respect unfortunately Woolf's diaries could be classed as belonging more to the former group.

From this very brief description of the diaries it is obvious that their value as historical records cannot be over-estimated. Their value lies in several respects, they provide a continuous daily record extending over 130 years — nearly the full length of the British occupation of Ceylon — of work done by the colonial government in every single province and district of Ceylon. Apart from being a record of administration, the diaries contain accounts of the social and economic conditions of the people and also additional incidental information on customs, ceremonies etc. which are of much sociological value. Besides these advantages the diaries are important in that they provide a glimpse into the thoughts and minds of the administrators who ruled Ceylon for the British and the motives which guided their actions.

Diaries are however frequently found to be unreliable as historical records because being personal documents they are highly subjective and contain the prejudices of the writers. These sets of official diaries however, are not subject to these shortcomings, and can be taken as constituting reliable evidence. The facts and events mentioned in the diaries can be taken as accurate, as these writers, unlike the usual diary writers had no reason to exaggerate or lie or inflate their personal role in anything they wrote. The diaries were a record of administration and the conditions of the

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districts prepared for official purposes to be sent to Colombo and for the guidance of their successors, and there was no need to write anything but the truth. Even if exaggeration or personal vanity did creep in they were easily found out and frequently checked in Colombo by the Colonial Secretary and others who were aware of conditions in the districts having served in the provinces themselves. Again the diaries were records made daily while events were fresh in each writer's memory and therefore left less room for inaccuracies. Apart from these reasons for the reliability of the diaries is of course the fact that their writers were educated men, frequently graduates from English Universities, with sensitive and well informed minds, and who could be taken to be accurate and careful observers.

The diaries however have some obvious defects. They were written from day to day and the motives for particular courses of action tend to be left out from the diaries, obviously because they were too well known to the persons by whom the diaries were meant to be read, to be written down. Thus for example in the present diaries Woolf frequently quotes the wastefulness of chenas but the reasons are never stated. A more important defect in the diaries, which however varies from writer to writer, is a lack of sympathy and understanding with the people whom they ruled. This prejudice is very seldom blatant, but is often noticed as an undercurrent in most diaries. This lack of sympathy is particularly strong in recording local political aspirations which were considered by most writers as a hindrance to good government. Local religious sympathies and sometimes local customs too similarly do not receive much understanding from the diarists. These prejudices however are easily noticeable and need not seriously affect the value of the diaries to the historian as a reader, particularly

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LEONARD WOOLF AND THE HAMBANTOTA DISTRICT

It is into this colonial set up that Leonard Woolf entered when he joined the Ceylon Civil Service in 1904. Leonard Sydney Woolf was born on the 25th November 1860 the son of Mr Sidney Woolf Q.C. He received his education at St. Paul's School and

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subsequently entered Trinity College, Cambridge from where he graduated. In 1904 he sat for the Eastern Civil Service Examination and was selected for appointment as a cadet in the Ceylon Civil Service. After his appointment Woolf sailed for Ceylon in November 1904 and on arrival there the following month was "attached" to the Colonial Secretary's Office in Colombo. After a few weeks there, in the following year, Woolf was "attached" to the Jaffna Kachcheri where he served in several capacities such as Additional Collector of Customs (May 1905) and Additional Police Magistrate (May 1905). In February 1906 he was appointed Additional Assistant to the Government Agent, Northern Province and Additional Police Magistrate and Commissioner of Requests at Mannar and Puttalam in connection with the Pearl Fishery. From August to September 1906 he acted as Assistant Government Agent, Northern Province, while the holder of the office was on leave.

In November 1906 Woolf was appointed an Officer in Class 4 of the Civil Service and in May 1907 appointed to the substantive post of Office Assistant to the Government Agent, Northern Province. A few months after in August 1907 he was transferred to Kandy as Office Assistant to the Government Agent, Central Province, and a year later sent as Acting Assistant Government Agent to the Hambantota District where he served for the next two years and ten months.³⁷ In December 1910 he was appointed to Class III of the Civil Service. In May 1911 Woolf went on a years leave to the United Kingdom, where he was married shortly after to Miss Virginia Stephen, a friend since his undergraduate days. At the end of his leave Woolf resigned from the Civil Service to devote his time in the United Kingdom to the literary pursuits

37. Apart from his celebrated work *The Village in the Jungle* which was based on his three years service in the Hambantota District, Woolf also wrote three other short stories based on his experiences in the other stations in Ceylon where he served. Leonard Woolf *Stories from the East*, (Hogarth Press, 1924.) The first story relating to mixed marriage is set in Colombo while the second deals with a pearl fishery one of which held in Mannar was attended by Woolf as Police Magistrate in 1906. The third story is set in Jaffna where Woolf was Office Assistant for a couple of years. These three stories can easily rank among the best short stories written on Ceylon. Unfortunately the book containing them is entirely unobtainable and these three short stories are being reprinted in this volume. While in Ceylon Woolf was visited by his sister Bella Sidney Woolf who stayed on in the island after marrying an officer in the Department of Agriculture. She also wrote a number of books on Ceylon, the best known being *How to See Ceylon*, (Times of Ceylon, 1914 and 1922.)

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which had been his main interest from his undergraduate days at Cambridge. Subsequently both Virginia and Leonard Woolf were to become well known figures in the English literary world—Woolf as a writer, publisher and editor³⁸ and his wife Virginia as a novelist and literary critic³⁹.

The Hambantota District in which Woolf served as Assistant Government Agent from August 1908 to May 1911, and where the present diaries were written, was somewhat dissimilar from any of the other districts of Ceylon. The land was flat and low and situated as it was on the south-east coast of Ceylon it usually missed both the monsoons, the effect being to make the climate particularly in the eastern half of the district very hot and dry. The rainfall was usually as low as 25" a year. As a result of this climate no settled forms of agriculture were possible in the district, except where irrigation facilities were available, and the people generally

38 After his return and also founded the *National Review*. The foundation of the *Contemporary* section of the *Nation*, a pioneer of the *Political Quarterly*—one of the best known political journals in the world today. From 1938 to 1955 Woolf was a member of the National

1940, *Principia Politica* 1953, and *Sowing, An Autobiography* 1960

39 Virginia Woolf was subsequently to acquire world fame as a writer and critic and died in 1941. Her major works include *The Voyage Out* 1915, *Night and Day* 1919, *New Gardens* 1919, *Monday or Tuesday* 1921, *Jacob's Room* 1922, *Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown* 1924, *The Common Reader First Series* 1925, *Mrs Dalloway* 1925, *To the Lighthouse* 1927, *Orlando* 1928, *A Room of One's Own* 1928, *The Waves* 1931, *Letter to a Young Poet* 1932, *The Common Reader, Second Series* 1933, *Flush* 1933, *The Years* 1937, *Three Guineas* 1938, *Roger Fry—a Biography* 1940 and *Between the Acts* 1941. On her sudden death in 1941, Virginia Woolf left behind a host of unpublished writings which were subsequently edited by Leonard Woolf. These include *The Death of the Moth* 1942, *A Haunted House* 1944, *The Moment and Other Essays* 1947, *The Captain's Death Bed and Other Essays* 1949, *A Writer's Diary* 1954 and *Virginia Woolf and Lytton Strachey, Letters* 1956.

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were among the poorest in the whole island. The people in the Magam Pattu, the eastern part of the district particularly were very poorly off, though those in the more fertile and irrigable western sections found life less difficult.

The district however had not always been so neglected and poverty stricken, for it was one of the two places colonised by the first Aryan settlers of Ceylon. These early Aryan settlements in the district soon grew to be a powerful kingdom centred round Tissamaharama and it produced one of Ceylon's greatest kings, Dutugemunu, who unified the entire country about 100 B.C. Remains of these past glories still remain in the Hambantota District in the form of ruined dagobas and temples and above all in several tanks or irrigation schemes, which after restoration in recent times, still continue to bring prosperity to the people of the area.

In size the district had a total extent of 1013 square miles and had its capital at Hambantota, from which town the district itself took its name. Administratively the district was in charge of an Assistant Government Agent, resident in Hambantota, and it formed part of the Southern Province which was controlled by a Government Agent stationed at Galle. The district was subdivided into three divisions—West Giruwa Pattu, East Giruwa Pattu and Magam Pattu—each under a Mudaliyar who had under him a hierarchy of superior and minor headmen. The population of the district which stood at 110,508 at the 1911 Census was composed mainly of Low Country Sinhalese though the capital town of Hambantota itself was populated largely by Muslims who were the descendents of a Malay regiment which was disbanded there early in the last century by the British.⁴⁰

The principal occupation of the people of the district was agriculture, of which paddy was the major crop. Under the policy of providing irrigation facilities for the peasants, inaugurated by Sir Henry Ward in the 1850's, four major irrigation works were undertaken in the district utilising the two major rivers, the Walawe Ganga and Kirindi Oya. These works resulted in

40. It is possible however that the origins of the Muslim community at Hambantota is of greater antiquity than the Malay Regiment. The word Hambantota itself means "Moor Port" and perhaps goes back to a time when it was populated by seafaring Arab traders.

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many peasants giving up their chena cultivations and becoming farmers. The four schemes were the Tissamaharama Tank restored in 1876, The Kirindi Oya Left Bank Scheme irrigating 6500 acres at Tissa and Magama, the Walawe Right Bank Scheme completed in 1910 irrigating about 5000 acres in East Giruwa Pattu and the Urubokka and Kirama Schemes in the West Giruwa Pattu. In addition to these major works there were about 365 smaller village tanks. The total paddy yield of the district was 966,000 bushels per year in 1911.⁴¹ The paddy cultivation was done according to traditional methods but the administration, as seen in Woolf's diaries, tried to improve them by encouraging the use of better ploughs, transplanting etc. One of the major hindrances to the development of paddy cultivation however was rinderpest, an epidemic of which hit the district in 1909 and wiped out almost the entire buffalo and cattle population, without which the extensive cultivation of paddy was impracticable. Woolf's attempts to control this epidemic form one of the most absorbing episodes in his diaries.

Paddy cultivation was however possible only under the major irrigation schemes and under village tanks where regular water supplies were guaranteed. There were however many parts of the district in which neither major nor minor irrigation facilities were available, and in these areas the villagers lived by chena cultivation. Chena cultivation was one of the most primitive forms of agriculture and consisted of the cultivator clearing and burning a piece of jungle and then sowing a crop which depended for its success on the monsoon. Usually two or at the most three crops were taken from one chena and the plot was then abandoned for another. Governments have always frowned on chena cultivation because of its wastefulness of land resources but since no better alternative agricultural methods could be provided, chenas have continued to exist. Chenas were and is the constant problem of dry zone agriculture where irrigation facilities are missing and Woolf's *The Village in the Jungle* is centred round a group of villagers living by this means. Of course one method of overcoming this scarcity of water was to introduce suitable new crops which required less water. But these attempts were not often successful among poverty stricken villagers and in the absence of a ready market. One such crop which enlightened administrators like Woolf tried to introduce, though unsuccessfully, was cotton.

⁴¹ All figures for Hambantota District in 1911 taken from F. B. Danks, *Ceylon at the Census of 1911*.

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In the western portions of the district, however, apart from paddy and chena crops more settled forms of cultivation were possible as the rainfall was heavier and the major rivers flowing through this area could be tapped for water. Chief among these other crops was coconut while citronella was also widely grown for its oil. There were a large number of citronella oil distilleries in 1911 in the district, while many thousands of acres were under this grass.

The district's chief revenue earner however was not an agricultural crop but salt. All along the coasts of the Hambantota District there were a number of shallow depressions, frequently connected with the sea, called lewayas. These lewayas which number 37 in all were evidently old sea bottom and is formed of mud heavily charged with brine. The lewayas generally fill with water during the rains and when this water evaporates during the drought, a thick layer of salt is left behind. The collection, packing and transport of the salt offered seasonal employment to all persons in the district willing to work at it, while the salt revenue was the mainstay of the district's annual income. The salt harvest of 1910 which was organised by Woolf was until recent times, with the introduction of new methods of processing and collection, the highest ever collected in a season.

Another aspect of the district was its general unhealthiness. The chief scourge of the district, and in fact of the entire dry zone of Ceylon, during this time was malaria. Malaria worked in a vicious circle. The disease broke out with the rains when mosquitoes bred freely and struck down the cultivator at the time when his services were most required to cultivate his crops. With illness during cultivation time, planting was not properly done and as a result the crop and the income was poor. The income being poor the cultivator had to do with a poorer diet which weakened him still further. The circle continued indefinitely and at certain stages the disease wiped out entire village communities, as happened in Woolf's *The Village in the Jungle*.

CONCLUSION

From the discussion above of the diaries of the Government Agents and their Assistants, it is clear that we have in them one of the most valuable sources for the study of the B Period of Ceylon History. They form a continuous record extending over one hundred and thirty years, of events and conditions, the administration of every single district and province of

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They contain besides the ideas of the administrators who ruled this country for these one hundred and thirty years and tells us how the colonial government's work and its legislation affected the people. No other set of historical records for the British Period of Ceylon can be as useful. The Ordinances, the records of the various departments in Colombo, the *Annual Reports* of government departments and the *Sessional Papers*⁴², the despatches from the government in Colombo to Whitehall and the replies to them, all can form at best only the skeleton of the history of the period. For the flesh and blood — for a statement of how the laws and other decisions made in Colombo affected the people — one has to turn to the vast corpus of diaries of the Government Agents and their Assistants and to a lesser extent, to those of other heads of departments. Yet it is surprising that government has not taken even the elementary steps to bring these diaries together and provide for their security in keeping with the valuable national records that they are. Before concluding this introduction therefore, it would be a duty to suggest to government that steps be taken to ensure their security for posterity, before the remaining diaries which are themselves not complete, are lost or destroyed. If the interest created by this volume could only ensure this, then this publication would have served one of its major purposes.

The diaries of the Government Agents and their Assistants (1905) and submitted periodically of the Colonial Secretaries were returned after being read⁴³ and they were then bound and kept in the respective kachcheries. They were maintained very carefully in the kachcheries during the colonial administration because they also served, apart from being reports to the superiors in Colombo, as a record for the guidance for each successive officer in the post. The writing of the diaries however was discontinued in 1941 and since then their safe keeping has fallen on evil days. With the diaries

42 Every head of a Government Department including the Government Agents and their Assistants were required to submit every year to Government an 'Annual Report' on the activities of their departments. The publication of these reports began in 1840 and they have continued to be published for the historical data they contain. The reports submitted to the Government from about 1855

43 Frequently comments were written down in the margins of the diaries by the Colonial Secretary and the Governor and in the case of an Assistant Government Agent's diaries by his Government Agent. These also form very interesting reading.

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being no longer written, the need to refer to them also decreased with the passing of years. This was fatal to their proper maintenance. From being the best maintained documents in the kachcheri record room which were frequently consulted by the Government Agent himself, they were reduced to the level of ordinary out of date records. A kachcheri record room is hardly a place to store documents of value nor is a kachcheri record keeper sufficiently conscious of the importance of documents that deserve preserving.⁴⁴ No care was thus given to the maintenance of the diaries nor were precautions taken to see that they were not lost. Kachcheri record rooms are always overcrowded and in the search for space the diaries, which to most record keepers were just unused out of date documents, were frequently mislaid and thrown about. Often a diary thrown on the ground would soon acquire sufficient moisture as to be unusable thereafter, particularly as the paper and the ink were old and not selected by the writers for their lasting qualities. Diaries frequently became unbound and were never rebound even though pages continued to get torn and detached in the process. Diaries were often removed by interested officers and if no proper track was kept of them were not returned and lost. I don't believe there is a single kachcheri in the island which can boast of an unbroken set of diaries from their inception to 1941.⁴⁵

This sad fate of such valuable historical records is indeed lamentable, particularly as this should have taken place in the last twenty years, a time in which their value should have been only too clearly recognised. The Government Archives Department which is I believe, empowered by law to collect historical records in government departments, has also I think not shown

44. The Record Rooms particularly of the older established Kachcheries which have histories of over 150 years are veritable store houses of valuable records awaiting discovery. While rummaging through the Kandy Kachcheri Record Room in 1916 H. W. Codrington accidentally discovered D'Oyly's celebrated Diaries of espionage against the Kandyan Kingdom. They had obviously been lying unnoticed in the Record Room for over one hundred years!

45. Of course in certain Kachcheries these diaries continue to get the same attention and care as before, two examples I am aware of being the Batticaloa and Badulla Kachcheries where they are kept in the G.A.'s rooms in separate almirahs. Even inspite of such attention a few diaries from the set at Badulla are lost. There are however several other Kachcheries where the Diaries receive much less attention. Recently when a search was made by Mr. S. C. Fernando for the Diaries maintained by Hugh Nevill in Trincomalee, it was discovered that they had been destroyed by an over-zealous Record Keeper, who no doubt had tried to solve the accommodation problem of his Record Room.

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sufficient initiative in extracting these valuable documents from the Kachcheries. This could have been easily done as the diaries are of no use to present Kachcheri officers, while research students who would be the only persons really interested in them, would be saved the need to visit at least nineteen different Kachcheri towns to consult them.

In these circumstances one would strongly suggest to government that all the diaries of Government Agents, Assistant Government Agents and Heads of Departments from 1808 to 1941 be collected and deposited in one central place, which could be either in the Government Archives or the well equipped libraries of the University of Ceylon at Peradeniya. Here the diaries can be catalogued, bound, scientifically treated where deterioration has set in, and microfilming etc. made where the records are not likely to stand up to handling by readers. The diaries could be made available to research students. It is also very probable that not more than about fifty percent of the diaries could be traced. Lists should therefore be prepared of the missing documents by the library concerned and searches made for them both in the Archives to which they may have strayed or in Kachcheri record rooms, and the sets of diaries made as complete as possible. After these elementary steps are taken for their safe custody, publication of the more useful diaries or extracts from them on important items may be undertaken. To make the collection and completion of such a full set of diaries possible, a list is given below of the different posts in the provincial administration, the holders of which were required by government to maintain diaries.⁴⁶

46 The following Diaries of officers of the provincial administration should unless lost be in existence

MARITIME PROVINCES 1808-1833

Collectors

Colombo	1808 - 1833	Batticaloa	1808 - 1833
Jaffna	1808 - 1833	Wanni	1808 - 1822
Trincomalee	1808 - 1833	(merged with Jaffna 1822)	
Galle	1808 - 1833	Magampattu	1813 - 1822
Matara	1808 - 1833	(/e Hambantota)	
Chilaw	1808 - 1833	(Merged with Matara to form	
Mannar	1808 - 1833	Collectorate of Tangalle in 1822)	
Ka utara	1808 - 1822		
(merged with Colombo in 1822)			

Footnote continued on p xliii

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Before concluding a word should be said about the circumstances leading to the publication of the diaries. As already mentioned when Mr. Leonard Woolf was in Ceylon in January 1960, a number of suggestions were made particularly by the Literary

KANDYAN PROVINCES 1815-1833:

Residents :

Kandy	1815 - 1824	(Post abolished on D'Oyly's death)	
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Assistant Residents :

Badulla	1816 - 1818	Kurunegala	1816 - 1818
Ruwanwella	1816 - 1818	Ratnapura	1816 - 1818

Agents of Government :

Udarata	1818 - 1833	Three Korales	1818 - 1833
Nuwarakalaviya	1818 - 1833	Four Korales	1818 - 1833
Tamankaduwa	1818 - 1833	Lower Bulatgama	1818 - 1833
SevenKorales	1818 - 1833	Lower Uva	1818 - 1833
Saffragam	1818 - 1833	Wellassa	1818 - 1833
Bintenne	1818 - 1833		

UNIFIED ADMINISTRATION FOR ISLAND AFTER 1833:

Government Agents :

Western Province	1832 - 1941	Capital Colombo.
Southern Province	1832 - 1941	Capital Galle
Northern Province	1832 - 1941	Capital Jaffna
Eastern Province	1832 - 1941	Capital Trincomalee 1832-70 Batticaloa 1870-1941.
Central Province	1832 - 1941	Capital Kandy
North Western Province	1845 - 1941	Capital Puttalam 1845-56 Kurunegala 1856 - 1941
North Central Province	1873 - 1941	Capital Anuradhapura
Uva Province	1886 - 1941	Capital Badulla
Sabaragamuwa Province	1889 - 1941	Capital Ratnapura

Assistant Government Agents:

Colombo	1832 - 1941	Jaffna	1832 - 1941
Kalutara Assistant Agency		Kandy	1832 - 1941
abolished in 1845 and	1832 - 1845	Matale Assistant	1832 - 1845
revived in 1875.	1875 - 1941	Agency abolished	1874 - 1941
Galle	1832 - 1941	in 1845 and	
Matara	1832 - 1941	revived in 1874.	
Hambantota	1832 - 1941	Nuwara Eliya	1845 - 1945
Kegalle	1845 - 1941	Negombo	1832 - 1841
Ratnapura	1832 - 1941		1874 -
Anuradhapura	1845 - 1941	Chilaw	1832 - 1845
Mullaitivu Amalgamated	1832 - 1889		1888 - 1941
with Vavuniya 1889		Ruwanwella	1832 - 1845
Vavuniya	1875 - 1941	Attapitiya	1832 - 1845
Mannar	1832 - 1941	Alupota	1832 - 1845
Batticaloa	1832 - 1941	Galagedera (Madawela -	
Badulla	1832 - 1941	tenne)	1832 - 1845.
Trincomalee	1832 - 1941		
Kurunegala	1832 - 1941		
Puttalam	1832 - 1941		

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Critic of the *Ceylon Observer*, Mr Mervyn de Silva that these diaries be published by the Ceylon Government. Subsequently when Mr Woolf called on the then Prime Minister, Mr W Dahanayake, the latter directed the Home Ministry to publish the diaries as a Sessional Paper. The Home Ministry however later felt that publication as a Sessional Paper would not serve much purpose, and that the diaries should be properly edited before publication with introductory information, glossary, notes, etc.

The edition of the diaries as now presented has been designed with this background information without which their proper appreciation is not possible. The present introduction gives the context in which the diaries were written, and provides background information on the Government Agent's diaries in general, and their value as reliable historical records. Information is also given on Leonard Woolf and the Hambantota District. The short literary introduction by Mr Mervyn de Silva discusses Woolf's place in the English world of letters and evaluates his *Village in the Jungle* and his short stories on Ceylon as literary works, while the manner in which these particular diaries shed light on the novel are also noted. A glossary has also been included which explains all the terms in the Diaries which are unintelligible to the modern reader by reason of the administrative changes in the last fifty years, or by their technicality. The terms are arranged in alphabetical order to make reference easier. The book also contains a short preface by Mr Woolf himself, introducing the Diaries. It is hoped that the second volume of his autobiography, on which he is now working, and which will deal with the period in Ceylon will contain more valuable information.⁴⁷ The Diaries themselves have been reproduced in full without any deletions, from the time Mr Woolf assumed duties as Assistant Government Agent at Hambantota in September 1908 to May 1911 when he left on leave to England, at the expiry of which he resigned from the Civil Service.⁴⁸

In conclusion I should record my thanks to those who have assisted us in the publication of this book. Our thanks are chiefly due to Mr S. C. Fernando, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry

47 The second volume of Leonard Woolf's autobiography dealing with the period 1904 to 1911 has since been published under the title *Growing* (Hogarth Press London 1961). Unfortunately the present writer could not consult this book when writing this introduction.

48 Woolf was on leave for a short period from April 9th 1909 to May 14th the same year. During this time Mr Chambers acted for him. Mr Chamber's entries have however not been included in the present volume.

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of Industries, Home and Cultural Affairs but for whose enthusiasm this publication would not have been possible. Mr. Fernando was largely responsible for the attention focussed on the Diaries when Woolf was in Ceylon and he assisted us by giving the manuscript copies for the preparation of this publication. Our thanks are similarly due to Miss Nimal Wijayarathne for her considerable help in the preparation of this volume and to Mr. Leonard Woolf who very kindly wrote the Preface to the Diaries at short notice and also provided us with some of the photographs used in this book. The map of the Hambantota District appearing at the back of the book is based on the Survey Department map of the area. Finally our thanks are due to Messrs. Hugh de Mel, N. L. Vethanayagam and V. G. Fernando for their assistance to this publication in various ways and to Mr. Benedict de Silva, Manager of Messrs. Metro Printers, Colombo, and his staff for the interest taken in the printing of this book, and particularly for his patience in excusing the numerous delays which this publication was constantly subjected to.

S. D. S.

POSTSCRIPT

Since writing this introduction I have been very kindly provided with the following report on the diaries of the provincial administration, available in the Ceylon Government Archives. In publishing it I should record my thanks to Mr. G.P. S. Harischandra de Silva, Asst. Government Archivist who prepared this report and to Mr. G.M.K. Perera, Librarian of the Archives. Collecting this information at short notice from a vast store of records, mostly uncatalogued, would have been a considerable task. The report however only confirms one's worst suspicions that the great majority of the diaries have been destroyed or lost already. Careful searches in all Kachcheri Record Rooms should however, I am sure, lead to the discovery of many more lost diaries. The Assistant Government Archivist's report reads:—

“In the list given below the numbers given against the various Kachcheries are the Archives reference numbers for the entire lot. It will not be possible to give the specific reference numbers of these volumes except in the sets of Puttalam and Anuradhapura, as they have not yet been indexed. The Diaries of the Kurunegala, Trincomalee and Batticaloa Kachcheries are still at their places of origin. Regarding the first I am speaking with the file as my authority, while I have seen the other two sets myself. The available Diaries at the Trincomalee Kachcheri were salvaged by me two months back from imminent destruction and are in the room of the Record Keeper just now. The Batticaloa Diaries, are of course, as you are aware, well preserved in the Agent's room. The chronological sequence is more often than not broken in practically all lots and the years indicated shows only the availability of Diaries for the particular years and has no significance to volume sequence. Out of the lots here-

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with us, I have personally checked Anuradhapura, Puttalam, and Jaffna and can say with confidence that the volumes indicated for the years are available. But since I have taken the details of the other lots from various files, and as I haven't checked them myself, I couldn't say with the same confidence that the list given agrees with the volumes. If however there is a discrepancy which is hardly likely—between what is available and the list given, it will be very slight. The Kachcheries are shown in alphabetical order —

Anuradhapura	(CGA 41/)
Agent	1844-47, 1849 52, 1854-58, 1861-74, 1876-79, 1881-85, 1887, 1889 1900
Assistant	1845-46, 1849, 1853-54, 1856, 1858-69
Batticaloa	
Agent	1866-1940 • I am not certain whether the Diaries from 1866-70 are those of the Agent, as Batticaloa became an agency only in 1870
Co'ombo	(CGA 33/)
Collector	1824-26
Agent	1849 68, (1858-73, 1 Vol) 1883 90, 1894-97
Negombo	(in the same lot) Asst Agent 1888-96
Galle.	(CGA 43/)
Agent	1884-1938
Assistant	1932 39
Hambantota	(CGA 27/)
Assistant	1848 55, 1859, 1865, 1867, 1870, 1877 85
Jaffna.	(CGA 20/)
Agent	1795-1815
Kegalla	(CGA 30/)
Assistant	1838 65, 1870-73, 1884-85
Kurunegala	Agent and Assistant from 1848. The Kurunegala Kachcheri was burnt down in 1848 and perhaps the earlier Diaries too went up in flames. Kurunegala became an agency only in 1856
Mannar	(CGA 31/)
Collector	1810-13, 1815 26, 1831
Agent	1840-41
Assistant	1842-87
Matale	(CGA 34/)
Assistant	1851, 1858, 1865, 1869, 1871-97
Mallativu	see Yavuniya
Puttalam.	(GA.42/)
Chilaw—Collector	1822 24 1827 1829-33
Chilaw & Calpentyne—	do 1829 32

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Chilaw—Assistant : 1833, 1835-36, 1888-1900.
Puttalam — do 1848-51, 1853-69, 1872-92, 1895-1900
Puttalam - Agent : 1852.
N.W.P. - Agent : 1845-48.

Ratnapura. (CGA.45/)
Collector : 1818-1831.
Agent : 1831-43, 1848-58, 1863-68, 1878-79, 1885-89, 1891, 1893,
1895-1910.

Trincomalee.
Assistant : 1910-11, 1914, 1922, 1933-35, 1937-40.

In and after 1922 Diaries are not available for the full year as they seem to have maintained separate volumes for each month. Most of these seem to have been misplaced or lost through negligence and ignorance of their value.

Vavuniya. (CGA.36/)
Mullaitivu - Assistant : 1833-40.
Agent : 1834-65, 1868-1927.

INTRODUCTION

PART II - GENERAL

by

Mervyn de Silva

" I felt just as I did when as a small boy at school in Brighton I stood in Brill's Baths and looked down at the water so far below and nerved myself for the high dive. I got ready everything which I was to take with me to Ceylon, which included ninety large volumes of the beautiful eighteenth century edition of Voltaire printed in the Baskerville type and a wire-haired fox-terrier. At last I dived, the waters closed over me, I took the train to Tilbury Docks "

The young man who took the plunge that day in October 1904 was Leonard Woolf. He was a member of the Ceylon Civil Service till 1911 in which year he resigned from the C C S and sailed for England. During the seven years he served in Ceylon Mr Woolf held several positions in the colonial administration, notably that of Assistant Government Agent, Hambantota. Ceylonese have every reason to remember that last fact. For, shortly after his return to England,¹ Mr. Woolf published a novel entitled *The Village in the Jungle* which, after half a century, still remains the finest imaginative work based on life in this country "

The decision of *The Ceylon Historical Journal* to publish the official diaries kept by Leonard Woolf as A G A Hambantota is welcome for many reasons. The publication is

¹ The exact date of Woolf's return in a
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INTRODUCTION

exceptionally well-timed, too. For one thing, it has now been established beyond question that these diaries constitute the seminal source of *The Village in the Jungle*.² Students who are now reading the novel as a literary text will discover the connecting links easily enough and the exercise should provide them, some knowledge perhaps of the way in which the creative writer transmutes fact and raw experience into art; though, it seems relevant to add here, one need scarcely seek a finer insight into the creative process than Virginia Woolf's *A Writer's Diary*.

Secondly, the diaries have a solid intrinsic worth. Woolf's writing suffers little from the faults and excesses which we now associate with 'officialese'. On the contrary, it reveals a keen and sensitive observer, responsive to natural environment and people alike. What these diaries give us is an authentic and graphic record of life in the southern dry zone of the island a half century ago. As such, it finds a place among those valuable reports on Ceylon which the more intelligent and perceptive of colonial administrators have left us as a historical legacy.

I have noted the timeliness of this publication. Woolf's visit to Ceylon in early 1960 was celebrated, locally, with such obvious

2. Attention was first drawn to the Diaries as a record of the experiences in the Hambantota District which was to result in *The Village in the Jungle* by Mr. Basil Mendis who published an article on "The Official Dairies of Leonard Woolf" in the *Ceylon Daily News* of 21st June 1950. In this article Mr. Mendis pointed out several passages from the Diaries which showed a marked similarity to passages in the novel. For example the entries for January 28th 1909 "The great want in the sanctuary snuffing the air" (p 46) and for July 7th 1910 "There is little pleasure to be derived from travelling large leafless trees" (p.166) both show a strong resemblance to the descriptions of the jungle in chapter one of the novel, particularly 'Over great tracts there is no water waterless shore of the sea' (p. 8-9 of Phoenix Edition of *The Village in the Jungle*) The description in the novel of villages dying out due to malaria were no doubt picked up from personal experience, e.g. Entry for Jan 13, 1911 gives a description of one such village Andarawewa, while the reference here to the fatalism with which death is faced is similar to the remark of a character in the novel "August is the month in which children die. What can I do?" Similarly the reference in chapter one to a villager lost in the jungle is obviously taken from the incident of Game Watcher Punchi Rala who is lost in the jungle (entry for April, 1911) while of course the references to "Beragama Deiyo" in the novel obviously refers to the God of Kataragama, to whose Festival Woolf went once as officer in charge of the pilgrim camp (entries for July 8th - 22nd 1910). In another article published under the title "Beddegama and Beddegama" in the *Ceylon Observer* of 6th March 1960, "S.C.F." convincingly points out that the Bed egama of the novel is identical with the village of Beddegama in north Magam Pattu. Careful study of the novel with the published Diaries should indicate many more such comparisons.

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PART II - GENERAL

by

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The decision of *The Ceylon Historical Journal* to publish the official diaries kept by Leonard Woolf as A.G.A. Hambantota is welcome for many reasons. The publication is

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exceptionally well-timed, too. For one thing, it has now been established beyond question that these diaries constitute the seminal source of *The Village in the Jungle*.² Students who are now reading the novel as a literary text will discover the connecting links easily enough and the exercise should provide them, some knowledge perhaps of the way in which the creative writer transmutes fact and raw experience into art; though, it seems relevant to add here, one need scarcely seek a finer insight into the creative process than Virginia Woolf's *A Writer's Diary*.

Secondly, the diaries have a solid intrinsic worth. Woolf's writing suffers little from the faults and excesses which we now associate with 'officialese'. On the contrary, it reveals a keen and sensitive observer, responsive to natural environment and people alike. What these diaries give us is an authentic and graphic record of life in the southern dry zone of the island a half century ago. As such, it finds a place among those valuable reports on Ceylon which the more intelligent and perceptive of colonial administrators have left us as a historical legacy.

I have noted the timeliness of this publication. Woolf's visit to Ceylon in early 1960 was celebrated, locally, with such obvious

2. Attention was first drawn to the Diaries as a record of the experiences in the Hambantota District which was to result in *The Village in the Jungle* by Mr. Basil Mendis who published an article on "The Official Dairies of Leonard Woolf" in the *Ceylon Daily News* of 21st June 1950. In this article Mr. Mendis pointed out several passages from the Diaries which showed a marked similarity to passages in the novel. For example the entries for January 28th 1909 "The great want in the sanctuary snuffing the air" (p 46) and for July 7th 1910 "There is little pleasure to be derived from travelling large leafless trees" (p.166) both show a strong resemblance to the descriptions of the jungle in chapter one of the novel, particularly 'Over great tracts there is no water waterless shore of the sea' (p. 8-9 of Phoenix Edition of *The Village in the Jungle*). The description in the novel of villages dying out due to malaria were no doubt picked up from personal experience, e.g. Entry for Jan 13, 1911 gives a description of one such village Andarawewa, while the reference here to the fatalism with which death is faced is similar to the remark of a character in the novel "August is the month in which children die. What can I do?" Similarly the reference in chapter one to a villager lost in the jungle is obviously taken from the incident of Game Watcher Punchi Rala who is lost in the jungle (entry for April, 1911) while of course the references to "Bera-gama Deiyo" in the novel obviously refers to the God of Kataragama, to whose Festival Woolf went once as officer in charge of the pilgrim camp (entries for July 8th - 22nd 1910). In another article published under the title "Beddegama and Beddegama" in the *Ceylon Observer* of 6th March 1960, "S.C.F." convincingly points out that the Beddegama of the novel is identical with the village of Beddegama in north Magam Pattu. Careful study of the novel with the published Diaries should indicate many more such comparisons.

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emotion that the 'sentimental journey,' as the newspapers called it, seemed almost an opportunity for us to declare our secret yearnings for the British Raj! Or perhaps, it was only the individual that counted and our debt to Leonard Woolf is only too clear. Anyway, the diaries are being offered to the public at a time when interest in Woolf's work has been revived, both by his visit and the publication of the first two volumes of this autobiography. Is it too much to hope that a reading of these books, so generously received by the English reviewer, would encourage some English critic to read *The Village in the Jungle* and rescue it from long years of critical neglect? I doubt whether it is some misplaced political loyalty which has convinced many Ceylonese critics that *The Village in the Jungle* is by no means inferior to Forster's *A Passage to India*.³

The young man who came to Ceylon in 1904 was to describe himself in his autobiography as "an arrogant, conceited and quick tempered young man". Such candour is not unnatural to a writer who claims that the only point in an autobiography is "to give, as far as one can, in the most simple, clear and truthful way, a picture, first of one's own personality". But the judgment we suspect, is excessively harsh. Or, rather, it leaves many things unsaid. While arrogance is hardly out of place in the make-up of a Cambridge intellectual of 24, the weaknesses which Woolf ascribes to himself were leavened by virtues only too evident in what he did in Ceylon and what he wrote. The virtue, mainly, I should say of a temperament, compounded of a liberal humanism and lively intelligence, and nurtured by family, personal relationships, Cambridge and Bloomsbury.

If conceit and quick-temper were all, Woolf should have adapted himself easily to the responsibilities and demands of the imperialist system. And we know that the process of emotional adjustment for Leonard Woolf was not especially marked by its smoothness or facility. In fact, he was never a perfect piece in the mechanism of colonial rule. In his own estimate, he was a conscientious officer but the system called for habits of feeling and action which his whole personality must have steadily resisted. Woolf was given too much to personal judgments and discriminations to develop that total conformism which must have been one guess, almost a prerequisite of the ideal colonial officer.

³ Strangely, the only noteworthy allusion to *The Village in the Jungle* is a remarkably perceptive observation by Arnold Toynbee in *A Study of History*.

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In spite of his obvious enthusiasm for his work, his attraction to people, places and things, he could not acquiesce in the oppressive orthodoxy of imperialism.⁴

In his remarks about his resignation from the Ceylon Civil Service, there is a regretful recognition of the fact that his "personal reasons" are not the kind that would be easily understood or appreciated by his superiors:

"I did not feel that I could explain to Mr. Harcourt or Mr. Stubbs that I had come to dislike imperialism, that I did not want to become Governor, that I wanted to marry Virginia Stephen and that if I didn't marry her, I would like to continue to be a Ceylon Civil Servant provided that they would appoint me permanently Assistant Government Agent, Hambantota"⁵

It is a simple statement but in the decision he took and in the manner in which he records it, there is implicit a scale of values. What he cherished most were personal relationships, sensitivity and moral integrity—what, in fact, the reader of E. M. Forster's novels would call a Forsterian enlightenment. And this was the product of Cambridge and the cultivated company in which he moved during his formative years.

Of Cambridge, Leonard Woolf writes :

"My loyalty to Trinity and Cambridge is different from all my other loyalties. It is more intimate, profound, unalloyed. It is compounded of the spiritual, intellectual and physical inextricably mixed—the beauty of the college and backs; the atmosphere of long years of history and great traditions and famous names; a profoundly civilised life; friendship and the Society."⁶

The term 'Bloomsbury' has gathered pejorative associations through the years. Arty, affected, bohemian? One cannot invoke such categories to classify the cultivated men and women who

4. An analogous case, if an extreme one, is George Orwell who also served in a colonial outpost but in the more exacting role of a policeman.

"All this was perplexing and upsetting. For at that time I had already made up my mind that imperialism was an evil thing and the sooner I chucked up my job and got out of it, the better As for the job I was doing, I hated it more bitterly than I can perhaps make clear. In a job like that you see the dirty work of Empire at close quarters". *Shooting an Elephant. Selected Essays.* (Penguin Books.)

5. *Growing by Leonard Woolf.* (Hogarth Press.)

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formed the circle—John Maynard Keynes, Lytton Strachey, Clive Bell, Virginia Stephen, Leonard Woolf, E. M. Forster, Roger Fry

Was it a group at all or just a circle of friends? Some years ago, J. K. Johnstone wrote a study of these men and their ideas. This book, *The Bloomsbury Group* had a wealth of information which gives us a vivid picture of the milieu in which Woolf matured as an intellectual. Mr. Johnstone's study has one weakness though. He is a victim of the characteristic temptation of the man who writes a doctoral thesis, a temptation to indulge in rationalisations, to make a neat package of his material and wrap it up in some impressive abstract notions.

Moore's *Principia Ethica* and Fry's aesthetic theories must inevitably have influenced the young, eager minds of this intimate circle with its Cambridge background. But they had no credo, no motto or banner. As Woolf himself remarked in a review of Mr. Johnstone's book, "With their roots in Cambridge, they had been of course greatly influenced by the personality and writings of Professor Moore and eternally interested and amused by the proliferation of Roger Fry's lively intellect and imagination. They would not have become and remained for forty, fifty or more years, such intimate friends, unless they had shared many tastes, beliefs and prejudices and delusions. But that is a different thing from being a group in the sense used in the first part of this book."

In *Old Friends*, Clive Bell exasperated by the "Bloomsbury baiters", confirms this view of an intimate but informal circle of friends who were not joined together by a common ideological belief. On the contrary, they were a group of highly individualistic persons.

There are many interesting references to Leonard Woolf in the writings of these distinguished men who were his friends both at Cambridge and later in Bloomsbury. It was in Cambridge that the foundations for Bloomsbury were laid. Mr. Woolf started a typically undergraduate club called 'The Midnight Society'. The 'midnighters' later moved to the home of one of its members, Thoby Stephen. Here Vanessa and Virginia Stephen, the talented daughters of Sir Leslie Stephen, became the centre, according to Clive Bell, of what was to be known as the Bloomsbury Group.

In *My Early Beliefs* a memoir by John Maynard Keynes we have a group photograph, as it were, of this intellectual family.

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“Moore himself was a puritan and a precisian; Strachey a Voltairean, Woolf a rabbi, myself a nonconformist, Sheppard a conformist and (as it now turns out) an ecclesiastic, Clive Bell a gay and amiable dog, Sydney Turner a quietist, and Hawtrey a dogmatist.....”

A close-up of the young Woolf is found in David Garnett's *Flowers of the Forest*.

“Leonard Woolf usually came with Virginia, a lean man with the long hooked nose and burnt up features and ascetic lips of a desert dweller rather than those of the typical Jew. Leonard had spent ten years shaken by fever and burnt by the tropical sun as a District Magistrate in Ceylon. He was very quiet and used to sit silent until others had given their opinions when he would say in a low voice which vibrated with the passionate desire to appear reasonable that he disagreed with every word that had been said and that he believed the exact contrary was true—after which he would give a little laugh and the argument would begin in earnest.”

I have furnished the reader of these diaries a fair number of personal details about Leonard Woolf because this knowledge is a necessary guide to the writing. What after all is the significance of his writings on Ceylon? For us, this writing represents the impression made by our society and culture on a sensitive English mind; a special kind of mind, one must insist. Otherwise, the meaning gets hazy and ill-defined. This is an intelligence of fine quality, morally aware, humane and inquisitive but, most of all, disturbed by the impact of the East, and uneasy before its strange, exacting demands on understanding.

Insights into this interesting state of mind can be shared by the reader of the stories which the *Ceylon Historical Journal* has enterprisingly obtained and included in this volume. The purely literary merits of the stories are slight but they do offer an almost perfect illustration of the point I made.

In its very simplicity, the narrative mode employed by Woolf in “A Tale Told by Moonlight” is suggestive of his own approach to the Eastern experience. Four intelligent and literary-minded men, stimulated by a moonlight scene and the sight of young lovers, begin to discuss romantic love when a fifth challenges their nice, sentimental notions. To drive home his point, Jessop (“he had a

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rather brutal manner sometimes of telling brutal things—the truth, he called it") recalls the tragedy of a man called Reynolds who came out East, met the beautiful Celestinahami in a Colombo brothel and fell in love with her. No words pass between them for the girl cannot speak English. Nevertheless, she chooses to live with Reynolds. Gradually, Reynolds' love turns to a maddening exasperation as Celestinahami begins to give him not a kind of love that he can understand but the "love of a slave, the patient consuming love for a master, his kicks, his caresses, for his kisses and his blows"

The story is marked by a curious ambivalence. The writer is emotionally uncertain of his attitude to the material he is handling. There is a simple attempt to counterpose the reality of "the love of dogs and women" in the East to romance of 'moonlight' and 'nightingales' (on a very much smaller scale, the Forsterian antithesis, I suppose, of 'dearest Grasmere' and India) but even this is defeated in the actual writing of the story. The 'reality' of the East is itself nothing but the old glamourised image. Jessop, in fact, comes out with the singular remark—"it always reminded me somehow of the 'Arabian Nights'"

The experience is interesting but the writer's grasp of it is unsure. There is an emotional disequilibrium which robs the story of all point. Perhaps, if Woolf had the crisp talents of an ironist like Maugham, 'A Tale Told by Moonlight' might have been of a different order.

"Pearls and Swine" is another essay on the East-West theme. Again, the technique is simple. The stock-jobber and the arch deacon (caricature of English types) hold smug, dogmatic views on politics and life in the East. Into their company intrudes a man who has actually lived in the East and, inevitably, he tells his story.

"I won't give you views" he said. "But if you like I'll give you what you call details, things seen, facts,"

One's final impression of both these stories is that of a mind deeply conscious of its confrontation with a strange, disquieting and alien element and striving hard to wrestle with and master it.

"They gave me one, little boy of twenty four, fresh-checked from England, just joined the service. He had views, he had been

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educated in a Board school, won prizes, scholarships, passed the Civil Service exam. Yes, he had views; he used to explain them to me when he first arrived. He got some new ones I think before he got out of that camp. You'd say he only saw details, things happen, facts, data. Well, he did that too. He saw men die—he hadn't seen that in his Board school—die of plague or cholera, like flies all over the place, under the trees, in the boats, outside the little door of his own little hut

To the intelligent, responsive western mind, the East is a great encounter. Questioning as it does the foundations of western thought and morality, it constitutes a challenge in as much as it threatens the disruption of the sensibility which attempts to contain it. Something of the nature of this encounter, which has proved in various ways the central subject of the best writing on the East from Kipling to Forster, was sensed a century ago by Mathew Arnold's brother, W.D.

"First and foremost to ascertain what is the point at which the European mind and the native mind begin to diverge" he wrote in *Oakfield* "is the incompatibility, not in little things only, in manners and taste but in the vital feelings of humanity; is this necessary, is it to be lasting and is the language of our common brotherhood as false in theory as in actuality then again, our English society, in India; why should it be proverbial and to a great extent a true saying, that an Englishman leaves his morals at the Cape." ⁶

By the time Forster came to write *A Passage to India* the sea routes had changed and the physical frontiers of this problem had moved. Nevertheless, in terms of moral sensibility, the fact of a 'sea change' had remained:

"The Mediterranean is the human norm. When men leave that exquisite lake, whether through the Bosphorus or the Pillars of Hercules, they approach the monstrous and extraordinary; and the southern exit leads to the strangest experience of all."

Leonard Woolf was aware of this, too, and expressed it in his own personal way:

"The people with whom I now found myself (on board the *Orontes*) and practically all those with whom I should have

6. I came across this passage in a stimulating article on 'English writing on Ceylon' by Dr. E. F. C. Ludowyk, former Professor of English in the University of Ceylon.

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to live for the next six years were the exact opposite of the people with whom I had lived in Cambridge. They cared for none of the things which I had cared for"

Out of this unique encounter with an alien culture, Woolf's intimate friend E. M. Forster produced his remarkable novel, *A Passage to India*.⁷ Forster worked on a large dramatic scale, grappling with the "incomprehensible mystery" of India. If we are to take note of certain inadequacies in that novel, we can say that Woolf was more fortunate. His 'objective correlative', the village in the jungle, was more tractable material easier to control and define.

Woolf enjoys a reputation in his own country as a political essayist and sociologist. In neither field would he claim I dare say, any original contribution. He is neither thinker nor theorist. In his books and in his frequent contributions to political and literary periodicals abroad, his role has been that of the sensible intelligent commentator.

The interests of the sociologist are evident in these diaries and his actual achievement in this direction is remarkable for a man who was scarcely thirty years old. At a time when the comparatively new discipline of sociology is being equated so often by our local academicians with statistical investigation and report, it is good to remind ourselves that the power of human observation, and the gift for scrupulous and vivid recording of what is observed are considerations equally relevant to the proper function of sociology. For, statistics as Mr. Koestler wrote once, don't bleed. So much bloodless, arid documentation passes for sociology these days that one tends to forget the final purpose of the sociologist—to present us a total response to a community, its habits of action and feeling, its values and motivations and its structure of relationships. In the name of "scientific" sociology, emotions and intuitions are being discarded as unreliable instruments of understanding social behaviour, they are suspect as the hit or miss methods of the amateur. And yet, an imaginative grasp of the way of life in a given community can be just as firm and trustworthy as knowledge based on 'facts and figures'. But, these are incidental questions.

7 It is as Woolf by the way, who encouraged Forster to continue working on *A Passage to India* when the latter was dissatisfied with its progress. Forster records his debt in *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying*.

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While it would be absurd to suggest that Leonard Woolf sat down to write these official diaries as if he were consciously embarking on a sociological exercise, the fact is that the conditions of that time and his own personal abilities and interest combined well to produce a document of sociological and historical value.

The provincial administrator of 1910 enjoyed not only more authority than his counterpart of today but more leisure. If the pace of life was slower, his contact with the people whose affairs he administered, was more personal and direct. These diaries, therefore, add to something more than a record of administration. They give a graphic and intimate picture of the place, the people and their conditions of life.

Of Woolf's special aptitudes, I have already noted the most important. He was an exceptionally alert, observant person.⁸ In his capacity as observer of the social scene, he was both detached and engaged. At times, he could be the 'outsider', and survey the harsh, tousled world before him with the unruffled and dispassionate mind of the English intellectual. But he was not always *au dessus de la melee*.⁹

Another of his outstanding virtues, in my opinion, was his steady refusal to make easy moral judgments. Interestingly enough, in a recent article on the race question, Mr. Woolf cites an incident from this country to illustrate his point that one cannot discuss large issues like race, as if there were immutable standards of judgement. The moral criteria in such instances, he suggests, cannot be absolute but must be relative to the specific social situation. This attitude of mind (the healthy opposite of the all too familiar tendency to fashion others in your own image) is noticeably present in his writing on Ceylon. The reader may regard it a negative advantage. All the same, it was very useful.

His real and positive strength as a sociologist lay in his ability to penetrate beneath the surface the village life. Woolf's study

8. While writing this article I stumbled on an interesting reference to Leonard Woolf's novel in the pages of HANSARD. Mr. H. R. Freeman, also a member of the Civil Service, made this remark in the State Council, in November 1936:

"The atmosphere of an outstation court is exactly captured and expressed in the book 'The Village in the Jungle' by Mr. L. S. Woolf"

9. Woolf was so involved sometimes in the lives of these peasants that he could even oppose official policy. The colonial government decided to disallow chena cultivation, the economic centre, by the way, of the village community. But, Woolf who knew the human implications of this policy which was progressive in theory but oppressive in its immediate consequences, fought against its introduction. In implementing this policy, Woolf, in fact, softened its rigours.

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of the rural community of south Ceylon was a rounded one, a portrait both of physical fact and the inner life of the peasant. This is an extraordinary achievement. It should not be difficult for an intelligent, and observant foreigner to project a fairly accurate image of the peasant community. But such an image is likely to be based on externals, on observable, outward facts. Woolf's "village" shows an inward understanding. He was able to sense the *quality* of living in this small community and this required an intuitive power and a gift of imagination.

"What is there to say, aya? I cannot do it. If this thing must come to us, what can we do? Always evil is coming into this house, from the jungle, my father says."

Woolf's sensitivity to the rhythms of rural speech and its nuances partly explains his remarkable success. There is no clearer reflection of a culture than language.¹⁰

"What can I do?" "What can we do?"—the same question echoes and re-echoes in Woolf's novel in a manner which reminds one of Silone's Fontamare. They, too, kept repeating the question "What is to be done?"

They were peasants, too. Their attitude to life had the same note of fatalistic acceptance of a malevolent human condition. But how sensitively Woolf captures the Buddhistic overtones natural to the peasant of Baddegama. And he could distinguish Buddhism, the orthodox doctrine, from its actual nature as popular belief. As it existed in the group consciousness, it was a curious mixture of Buddhism and Hinduism, of vihares and primitive rituals, devils and jungle gods. The villager, in fact, had a stronger and more intimate relationship with these jungle deities than with Buddhism. In that long and exciting description of the Beragama festival (surely Kataragama?) we feel all this in the reactions of Hinnihani and Silindu.

"... they felt, through their strangeness, far more than they had ever felt with the Buddha of dagobas and vihares, that this god was very near their own lives. ... these Buddhist villagers felt that they could understand him, he was so near to the devils of the trees and jungles whom they knew so well."

10. The reader of Mr. A. P. Gunaratne's able Sinhala translation of Mr. Woolf's novel can measure the full extent of this skill.

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But, we are now talking about a novel. Whatever its documentary excellence and however deeply rooted it is in an isolated community, the novel transcends time and place.

Hence, really, our surprise at the failure of British critics to treat this as more than a romantic novel in an exotic Eastern setting.

It is the meaning which the jungle assumes in Mr. Woolf's novel which lifts it from the level of that kind of fiction. The jungle is the central 'character' and the superb opening section establishes the terms of emotional reference with sustained brilliance and firmness:

"All jungles are evil but no jungle is more evil than the jungle which lay about the village of Beddegama It was in, and of, the jungle, the air and the smell of the jungle lay heavy upon it—the smell of hot air, of dust, and of dry and powdered leaves and sticks its beginning and end was in the jungle the jungle surrounded it, overhung it, continually pressed in upon it"

The lives of these villagers are rooted in nature, in a Laurentian sense. But this is a nature which is evil, menacing, and inhuman. For them, life is a weary, continual and pitiful struggle for survival and the jungle is there, ominous, permanent and all pervading.

The powerful introductory section, with its careful construction of vividly realised details and tactile images, makes the jungle a physical presence. It carries one's mind to Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. The comparison is apt because in both stories, the jungle is also a symbol.

The evil and suffering in the human situation finds a terrifying, and overpowering symbol in the jungle of Beddegama. Against these forces, the human effort looks small and defeated. Yet, Woolf's villagers are not condemned to a futile passivity. There is, it is true, a deep and melancholy resignation in the sad, heavy strains of Karlinahami's lullaby:

"Thy mother's feet are weary, but the day
Will end somewhere for followers in the way.
Aiyo! Aiyo! the way is rough and steep,
Aiyo! the thorns are sharp, the rivers deep,
But the night comes at last. So sleep, child, sleep".

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But their small lives are not without their own triumph. Their suffering is redeemed by a spiritual courage and a quality of endurance. In the lonely figure of Punchimenika, waiting for the final ruthless thrust of the jungle, there is a nobility which is truly tragic in quality:

"She was alone in the world; the only thing left to her was the compound, and the jungle which she knew. She clung to it, passionately, blindly. The love she had for Silindu and Babun—who were lost to her forever whose very memories began to fade from her in the struggle to keep alive—was transferred to the miserable hut, the bare compound and the parched jungle".

Their fierce attachment to these things, the strength of their loves and hates, and their ultimate indomitability of spirit make them persons of different moral worth than the 'Fernandos', the headmen and ratemahatmayas of this world.

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Explanatory notes on unusual terms used in the Diaries

AMUNAM

A Sinhalese measure of volume or capacity, it is also used as a measure of area. The usage of the term varies between different districts but the generally accepted standard of an amunam as a measure of volume is to equate it to 5 bushels. An amunam is further subdivided into 4 pelas or 40 lahas or kurunics. As a measure of area, an amunam is that extent of land on which an amunam of seed can be sown. The amount of area which can be thus sown is subject to considerable variation but it is generally taken at 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres according to the practice of the district.

BOARDS OF HEALTH

Boards of Health were appointed for each province in 1853 under Ordinance No. 10 of 1852 but their functions were largely superseded by Local Boards and Village Committees. Under the Small Towns Ordinance No. 18 of 1892, the Boards were given power to order the health and improvement of small towns. By Ordinance No. 26 of 1908 the provincial Boards of Health were substituted by Sanitary Boards.

CENSUS

The fifth decennial census of Ceylon was taken on the night of March 10, 1911. The physical taking of the census was supervised by the Government Agents and the Assistant Government Agents of the different districts, the enumeration itself being done by the police officers or village headmen.

CEYLON AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

The Society was established in 1904 by Governor Sir Henry Blake to develop the country's agricultural resources. Shortly after a Board of Agriculture was created with representatives from the Society and senior members of the public service. The Board was to act as the executive body of the Society and was given

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a grant by government The Board appointed agricultural instructors and published literature in all three languages Branch societies were formed in the different districts Their work consisted chiefly of holding agricultural shows, introducing newer and better varieties of seed, encouraging co-operative methods in agriculture and attempting to bring trader and producer together through market fairs in villages, etc The Board of Agriculture subsequently grew into the full fledged Department of Agriculture of the Government

CEYLON LIGHT INFANTRY

The regiment was first formed in April 1881 under the name Ceylon Light Infantry Volunteers It continued for several years to be the only volunteer or regular regiment in the Island

CHENAS

One of the most primitive forms of agriculture The cultivator burns down a portion of jungle, roughly clears it and then sows a crop, usually kurakkan, a small seeded variety of millet No manuring or care of the plants is taken, but the return is good as the soil is virgin soil After a few crops, however, the plot is abandoned for another new plot This shifting cultivation impoverishes the soil and Government attempted to control chenas in this period by the issue of chena permits to deserving persons This was not a success

COLONIAL SECRETARY

The chief public servant under the British colonial government He was the chief executive of the Government and headed the public service, including the Civil Service As Lieutenant Governor he usually acted for the Governor when the latter was out of the Island and was a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils

CONTROLLER OF REVENUE

The chief financial officer of the colonial government Subject to the directions of the Governor, conveyed through the Colonial Secretary, he was responsible for the collection and administration of revenue The post ranked next to the Colonial Secretary

COURT OF REQUESTS

The Courts Ordinance No 1 of 1889 set up Courts of Requests in different divisions of the Island, these courts being vested with purely civil jurisdiction The Commissioners of Requests were

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officers from the Civil Service and usually acted as such in addition to their duties as District Judges and Police Magistrates. In the Hambantota District in this period the District Judge at Tangalle was Commissioner of Requests for the East and West Giruwa Pattus, while the Assistant Government Agent, Hambantota, was Commissioner for Magam Pattu.

CROWN GRANT

Grants of land made by the Crown to private individuals. Land was usually blocked out, advertised and sold by auction, the successful bidder being given a Crown Grant on payment.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

The Department of Public Instruction was set up after the dissolution of the Central School Commission in 1869. The department showed considerable partiality to mission schools and within a short time such schools multiplied rapidly. Thus two school systems grew up side by side, Government Assisted Schools and Government managed schools. At the turn of the 20th Century government found the cost of running these schools too heavy a drain on the general revenue and set up a Commission to report on how some of the burden could be passed on to the people. Subsequent to the Commission's report the Rural Schools Ordinance and Town Schools Ordinance were passed. These ordinances made school attendance compulsory and also provided for handing over the establishment and maintenance of schools to local authorities. Up to 1909 the chief source of income of the local authorities for running schools was the rent on the sale of opium.

DISTRICT COURT

The Courts Ordinance No. 1 of 1889 provided for the establishment of District Courts by the Governor. The District Judges were members of the Civil Service and were in addition Commissioners of Requests and Police Magistrates. The District Judge who sat at Tangalle had jurisdiction over the entire Hambantota District.

DISTRICT ROAD COMMITTEES

The District Road Committees were set up in 1862 at the same time as the Provincial Road Committees to enforce the Road Tax either by commutation or enforcement of labour. Each District had a Road Committee consisting of the Government Agent or Assistant Government Agent of the District as Chairnam, the District Engineer, and 3 other persons elected from among the Burgher, European and 'Native' communities of the district. The

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District Road Committees were the first local bodies to incorporate the elective principle in their constitution. The Committee was given $\frac{1}{3}$ rd the money paid in commutation of the Road Tax and spent it on the construction of minor roads.

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Government reserved to itself the authority to permit the tapping of toddy and its distillation into arrack. The sale of the manufactured liquor was likewise controlled. The right to sell arrack and toddy both wholesale and retail was given out by tender to "renters". This licensing power as well as the enforcement of the excise laws was vested in the Government Agents and the Assistant Government Agents of the districts.

EXEMPTIONS

The Road Ordinance laid down certain categories of persons who by reason of physical disability etc. were unable to fulfil their tax of six days annual labour on the roads. Such persons could apply for "exemptions" which were disposed of by the Assistant Government Agent of the district.

FISCAL

The duties of fiscals were to serve process and execute the sentences of the different courts of justice in the Island. The Government Agent of a province was usually the fiscal for his area and the Assistant Government Agent the Deputy Fiscal. The word "Fiscal" derives from the Dutch "fiscaal" or "sheriff".

FOREST DEPARTMENT

The department was under the control of the Conservator of Forests who had several Assistant Conservators of Forests to assist him. The department which was set up in 1885 under the Forest Ordinance of the same year did not work satisfactorily in its earlier years due to the responsibility for forest administration being divided between the Conservator of Forests and the Government Agents. In 1902 this dispute was settled when forests in the Island were divided into two categories, 'real forests called "reserved" forests to be under the Forest Department and scrub jungle, village forests etc. of little value to be entrusted to the Government Agents.

GAME SANCTUARY

The Game Sanctuary was constituted in the beginning of 1899. It comprised the extreme eastern division of the Hambantota District called the Yala Walakades, situated between the Yala and

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Kumbukkan rivers and having the province boundary and the sea as its other two limits, the area being about 150 square miles. The area was further proclaimed a reserved forest in March 1900. To guard against poaching a staff of several watchers who were expected to carry out patrols was employed by Government. A forest ranger, one Mr. Engelbrecht, an ex-Boer prisoner of war, was recruited in 1907 to be in charge of the Sanctuary.

GANSABHAWAS

The Gansabhawas were village councils which had been in existence from very ancient times. The Gansabhawa consisted of the elders of the village who usually heard and decided small disputes. These councils continued to exist under Portuguese and Dutch rule and were maintained by the British. In 1833 with the abolition of Rajakariya, the Gansabhawas declined in power though the Colebrooke Commission expressly suggested that they be continued. With the revival of interest in irrigation, however, the value of the Gansabhawa in enforcing communal rules regards agriculture was understood. In 1871 by Ordinance No. 26 of 1871 Village Committees and Village Tribunals were established by the government. The Governor could constitute a particular area a Village Committee by proclamation. The Village Committee consisted of members elected by the residents of the area and had powers to make rules for ensuring village sanitation, enforcement of customary obligations regards cultivation such as repair and maintenance of village tanks, etc. All rules of the Village Committees had to secure the approval of the Government Agent. Village Tribunals were also set up by the same Ordinance in 1871. The Tribunal was presided over by a president who had villagers to assist him as counsellors. The tribunal was empowered to try petty civil and criminal cases. There were 9 Village Committees and Tribunals in the Hambantota District during the period under review.

GOVERNMENT VETERINARY DEPARTMENT

The Department was under the charge of a Government Veterinary Surgeon whose duties were the suppression of contagious and infectious diseases of animals, the improvement of local breeds of cattle and horses, etc. The Government Veterinary Surgeon was assisted by an Assistant Veterinary Surgeon and by a number of Stock Inspectors who were stationed in the different provinces.

GLOSSARY

HUWANDIRAM

Huwandiram is a share of the paddy crop allotted to the headmen, generally to the Irrigation Headmen or Vel Vidanes for their services. The rate and manner in which huwandiram was collected and distributed varied from district to district in the Island. In the Hambantota District in the period under review it depended on the sowing extent of the field, ten kurunies being the amount payable for every amunam of land cultivated.

IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT

The Irrigation Department was formed only in 1900 with a Director at its head but the colonial government had taken an active interest in irrigation from the time of Governor Sir Henry Ward in the mid 1850's. One of the earliest irrigation works to which attention was devoted by the colonial government was the Kirama and Urubokka dams in the Hambantota District while shortly after the Walawe and Tissa Schemes were begun. In 1906 the Irrigation Ordinance, consolidating all former ordinances was passed. This Ordinance gave greater powers to the Director of Irrigation over major irrigation works. The Hambantota district had four major irrigation works during this period, the Kirindi Oya left bank scheme which irrigated about 6,500 acres at Tissa and Magama, the Walawe Ganga right bank scheme irrigating about 5,000 acres in East Giruwa Pattu and the Urubokka and Kirama Schemes in West Giruwa Pattu. There were also 365 smaller village tanks.

IRRIGATION FINE FUND

Fines imposed on cultivators for violating regulations made under the Irrigation Ordinance were charged to the Irrigation Fine Fund of each district. Money from the fund was used for the construction and maintenance of irrigation works, usually minor works.

IRRIGATION HEADMEN

Paddy cultivation particularly in tracts of fields with a number of small holdings required supervision for regulating water, cultivation times, etc. This supervision was done by the Irrigation Headmen or Vel Vidanes who were appointed by Government. The Vel Vidanes were not paid but entitled to a share of the produce called huwandiram for their services.

KURUNIES

A kurunie like the amunam is both a measure of volume as well as of area. A kurunie as a measure of volume is equal

GLOSSARY

to $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a bushel and as a measure of area to 10 perches of land. See also AMUNAM.

LAND SETTLEMENT DEPARTMENT

This Department was set up in 1903 to implement the provisions of the four Waste Lands Ordinances passed between 1897 and 1903 and Ordinance No. 12 of 1840. Its functions were to settle claims to land, both cultivated and waste. The Department functioned under a Land Settlement Officer who had a number of assistants under him.

LEWAYAS

Extensive shallow lagoons occurring at irregular intervals all along the coast of the Hambantota District. These lagoons are separated from the sea by large sand hills but they generally have at one point a passage of communication with the sea called a 'modera' which is however as a rule, blocked by a sand bar. The bed of these lewayas is possibly old sea bottom and is heavily charged with brine. They collect water during the rainy season and when this water evaporates during the drought a thick layer of salt is left behind. There are 37 salt bearing lewayas in the Hambantota District of which however only about ten are worth working economically. The four main lewayas are the Maha, Koholankala, Bundala and Palatupana lewayas and they produce the major part of the salt of the Hambantota District. The Maha and Koholankala lewayas from their proximity to Hambantota are the most important.

LOCAL BOARDS

Local Boards of Health and Improvement were first established in 1876 in the towns not deemed sufficiently large or important to be constituted Municipalities. Local Boards were constituted by proclamation and consisted of three official and three unofficial members. The principal duties of the Board were the improvement of the town, the maintenance of public health and the provision of water and lighting, etc. The Board derived its revenue from fees payable under the Ordinances relating to opium, firearms, butchers, poisons, etc., from dues paid under the Thoroughfares Ordinance and from levies on horses, cattle, dogs, vehicles, etc. There were no towns proclaimed Local Boards in the Hambantota District during this period.

GLOSSARY

MAHA AND YALA CROPS

Two paddy crops are sown each year depending on the availability of water. The maha crop is usually sown about September - October and reaped in February or March. The Yala crop of a paddy of a quicker maturing variety is sown in March or April and reaped between July and August.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

Prior to 1858 the medical needs of the country were attended to by the military. In that year the Civil Medical Department was set up. It functioned under a Principal Civil Medical Officer, (P.C.M.O.) who had several Colonial Surgeons and Assistant Colonial Surgeons to assist him. In the provinces the major towns had hospitals while groups of villages were served by dispensaries in charge of apothecaries. Each administrative district had a District Medical Officer (D.M.O.) in charge of the medical services while overall supervisory control was vested in the Government Agent.

MUDALIYAR

Every district in the Island was subdivided into divisions variously called Pattus, Korales, etc. Each of these divisions was under the charge of a Mudaliyar who was responsible for the collection of revenue and for seeing that other services due to Government were rendered. He was also the chief executive officer in his division through whom the orders of Government were submitted to the various grades of headmen under him. The offices of Mudaliyar as well as those of minor headmen were inherited by the British administration from the Dutch and Portuguese who themselves had modified the system from the still older Sinhalese feudal system. The equivalent title of Mudaliyar in the Kandyan areas was Rate Mahatmaya and in Tamil areas Adigar and Maniagar. In 1852, the colonial administration began the practice of bestowing the title of Mudaliyar as well as other titles of lesser ranks in a purely honorary capacity on private citizens. Thus public servants who were not in actual charge of divisions also became eligible for this honour.

MUHANDIRAM

A lesser rank than that of Mudaliyar. The Muhandiram also usually had a particular territorial area over which he had jurisdiction, subject to the control of the Mudaliyar of the division. His services were usually used for appraising value of lands, etc. In Hambantota the issue of chena permits in the period under review

GLOSSARY

appears to have been entrusted to a Muhandiram. The title and post of Muhandiram was of ancient origin like that of Mudaliyar. Since 1852 the title has also been bestowed in an honorary capacity.

NATIVE WRITER

A member of the clerical service whose duties were to attend to correspondence and other work in the 'native' languages.

OPIUM

The sale of opium was regulated by Ordinance No. 14 of 1903. Its sale was restricted to a few dealers licensed by government and it was prohibited for a person other than a licensed dealer to possess more than 180 grains. The Assistant Government Agent was the licensing authority for his area and he saw that opium sales were properly regulated. The fees for licensing opium sellers were usually given to the local authority of the area.

ORDINANCES

Laws made by the Legislative Council of Ceylon since 1832 and approved by the Governor.

PARANGI

Name by which yaws is known in Ceylon. Yaws, a disease confined to the moist warm tropics is widely prevalent among primitive rural societies. It is highly contagious and causes eruptions on the skin similar to syphilis, the spirochetes causing both diseases being very similar. The yaws spirochete was discovered by Castellani, a doctor working in Ceylon in 1905, and till the free availability of penicillin it had no effective treatment. In Ceylon it is popularly believed that the disease was introduced by the Europeans, the disease itself being called "parangi", the Sinhalese name for the Portuguese.

PATABENDI ARACHCHI

A Vidane Arachchi in receipt of an honorary title from Government.

PATTU MUDALIYAR

See Mudaliyar.

POLICE COURTS

Police Courts were established by the Courts Ordinance of 1889. Every Police Court had jurisdiction over a particular territorial area and the Police Magistrate usually acted in two

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broad capacities, one to inquire into serious offences and commit the accused for trial before the Supreme Court and secondly to try and sentence persons for lesser offences.

POLICE OFFICER

The title used in the diaries for the Village Headmen. The Village Headman was responsible for the good administration of his village and for the maintenance of law and order as denoted by his title. He formed the lowest rung in the bureaucratic hierarchy and was the chief executive officer of the government in his village.

POLICE DEPARTMENT

The Police Department was established in 1865 under the Police Ordinance 16 of the same year. Under this Ordinance an assessment tax was levied on all houses, buildings, lands and tenements for the maintenance of the police. The head of the police was the Inspector General and in the provinces the police were, since 1892, under the direct control of the Government Agents and their Assistants who were responsible for all police administration and expenditure. As Assistant Government Agent, Woolf was in charge of the police service in his district. Provision also existed for Government to quarter "punitive police" in particularly lawless areas, the cost of their maintenance being met from a levy on the inhabitants of the area.

PRISONS DEPARTMENT

The control of prisons in Ceylon was vested in the Inspector General of Prisons. Every prison had a superintendent, a medical officer and a jailor. The superintendent was usually the Government Agent or Assistant Government Agent of the district in which the prison was situated. In the period under review there were two prisons in the Hambantota District at Hambantota and Tangalle of which the Assistant Government Agent was the superintendent.

PROVINCIAL ROAD COMMITTEE

A Road Tax of six days labour each year for the construction, repair or improvement of the public roads of the Island was imposed in 1848 on every male between 18 and 55 years of age. It was however possible for a person to commute the tax by a money payment which varied from about Rs. 2/- a year in Colombo to Re. 1/- in Jaffna. A Provincial Road Committee was established in each province and a District Road Committee in each District for the purpose of collecting this tax or enforcing the labour and administering the funds. The Provincial Road Committee con-

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sisted of the Government Agent as chairman and between 3 to 5 other members. The Committee received 2/3rds of the monies collected in commutation of road tax. The greater portion of this income was spent on the construction of major roads through the Public Works Department while smaller sums were utilised for the maintenance of rest houses. The District Road Committee got the balance 1/3rd of the collections on commutation of road tax.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

The Public Works Department was formed in 1867 by Ordinance No. 16 of the same year. The Department functioned under a Director who had Provincial Engineers in the different provinces, who in turn had a number of District Engineers under them. The boundaries of the areas in the charge of the Provincial Engineers usually coincided with the boundaries of the provinces while each revenue district had one or more District Engineers, the area of authority of a District Engineer being usually smaller and not conterminous with the revenue district. The Department was responsible for all building activity of Government, and for the construction and maintenance of roads, inland navigation, rest houses, etc. Roads in the Island were divided into two broad categories—principal roads built and maintained by the P.W.D. and minor roads built and maintained by the District Road Committees.

REGISTRAR-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

The Registrar-General was responsible for all land registration in the Island, the registration of marriages, births and deaths and the registration of joint stock companies, trade marks, copyrights, etc. The Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents were ex-officio Provincial Registrars and Assistant Provincial Registrars respectively.

RINDERPEST

An acute, highly contagious disease primarily of cattle. It is characterised by high mortality and an unusually rapid course, death coming after 10 to 14 days. Where grazing and water is limited the disease spreads particularly fast. Wild animals such as buffalo, sambhur etc. also contact and spread the disease making control even more difficult. Rinderpest, particularly before the introduction of immunising vaccines was a major obstacle to agricultural development and in areas where agriculture was the predominant occupation an attack usually brought immediate and crushing poverty to the people. In Ceylon before the introduction of vaccines, rinderpest was usually fought by segregating the

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area in which the disease had broken out The Government Agents and their Assistants had legal authority under the Cattle Disease Ordinance No 9 of 1891 to declare areas as "segregated" areas

ROAD ORDINANCE

A road tax of six days annual labour on the public thoroughfares of the Island was imposed by the Road Ordinance of 1848 on every able bodied male in the country between the ages of 18 and 55 The tax could be commuted by a money payment The consolidating Ordinance is No 10 of 1861 as subsequently amended See DISTRICT ROAD COMMITTEE and PROVINCIAL ROAD COMMITTEE

SANITARY BOARDS

Sanitary Boards were set up by Ordinance No 26 of 1908 to carry out the provisions of the Small Towns Sanitary Ordinance of 1892 They displaced the Provincial Boards of Health Towns brought under the operation of this Ordinance were those considered not large enough to be Local Boards but needing sanitary measures beyond the means of Village Committees The Sanitary Board was a purely nominated body and could levy a tax of up to 4% on all immovable property within its jurisdiction Its duties were chiefly to look after the sanitation of the area Sanitary Boards were established at Tangalla and Hambantota in the period under review

' SEA LARK '

One of the steamers that regularly plied between Colombo and the other coastal ports of Ceylon Before the advent of railways and motor cars, journeys to Hambantota, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, etc were always by steamer The steamer service was a fortnightly one and run by a private company with a subsidy by the government The trip from Colombo to Hambantota cost Rs 5/-

TANKS

The word for the reservoirs built for collecting and storing water for paddy cultivation These tanks abound in the Dry Zone of Ceylon and were constructed by the ancient Sinhalese kings expressly for this purpose During the mid nineteenth century the British colonial government began to devote attention to improving the economy of the peasants by assisting paddy cultivation by restoring these tanks The tanks which had fallen into disrepair were of two categories—major works capable of

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irrigating several thousand acres and village tanks irrigating a few acres only. In the Hambantota District there were a few big reservoirs such as at Tissa and several hundred village tanks. These tanks which were usually constructed by building dams across seasonal streams collected water during the monsoons for use in periods of drought.

UNOFFICIAL POLICE MAGISTRATE

A Justice of the Peace could be appointed an Unofficial Police Magistrate under the Courts Ordinance. A person so appointed could exercise all the powers and authority vested in Police Courts. Unofficial Police Magistrates usually sat to attend to urgent matters in the absence of the Police Magistrates.

VEL VIDANE

Literally headmen of the fields. See IRRIGATION HEADMEN.

VIDANE ARACHCHI

Each of the Mudaliyar's divisions in the district were further subdivided into a number of smaller territorial units variously called walakades, peruwas, etc. The chief headman of each of these divisions was titled Vidane Arachchi and supervised the work of the other minor headmen in the area.

VILLAGE COMMITTEE

See GANSABHAWA.

VILLAGE TRIBUNAL

See GANSABHAWA.

WASTE LANDS ORDINANCE

The Waste Lands Ordinances No. 1 of 1897, No. 1 of 1899, No. 5 of 1900 and No. 4 of 1903 were enacted to provide for the speedy settlement of title to waste land. A Land Settlement Department was set up in 1903 to determine title as between the Crown and the subject.

WATER RATES

A money payment made by cultivators for water supplied for paddy cultivation from Government irrigation schemes. This charge was made on the principle that the cost of restoring or constructing new irrigation works should ultimately be borne by the consumer and not be a drain on the Government's finances.

YALA

See MAHA AND YALA crops.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Used in the Diaries and their equivalents

A C F	Assistant Conservator of Forests	I E	Irrigation Engineer
A D C	Aide-de Camp	I S I	Irrigation Sub Inspector
A G A	Assistant Government Agent	M O	Medical Officer
A S P	Assistant Superintenden- dent of Police	M P	Magam Pattu
		Mudr	Mudalyar
		P C	Police Court
C A S	Ceylon Agricultural Society	P C	Police Constable
C L I	Ceylon Light Infantry	P C M O	Principal Civil Medical Officer
CMR	Ceylon Mounted Rifles	P E	Provincial Engineer
C Q P	Certificate of Quiet Possession	P M	Police Magistrate
C R	Court of Requests	P M G	Postmaster-General
		P O	Police Officer
		P W D	Public Works Department
D C	District Court		
D E	District Engineer		
D I	Director of Irrigation	R B G	Royal Botanical Gardens
D J	District Judge		
D M O	District Medical Officer	R G	Registrar-General
D P I	Director of Public Instruction	R M	Rate Mahatmaya
D R C.	District Road Committee	S H O	Station House Officer
		S M R	Superintendent of Minor Roads
E G P	East Giruwa Pattu	S O	Settlement Officer
E P	Eastern Province		
		V. A	Vidana Arachchi
F. R.	Forest Ranger	V C	Village Committee
		V. T	Village Tribunal
G A.	Government Agent		
		W L O	Waste Lands Ordinance
H E.	His Excellency (<i>i e the Governor</i>)	W G P.	West Giruwa Pattu

PREFACE

by

LEONARD WOOLF

I feel greatly honoured by the fact that the Ceylon Government decided to publish the official diaries which, as Assistant Government Agent of Hambantota, I kept from August 1908 to May 1911, and that the *Ceylon Historical Journal*, the publishers, have asked me to write an introduction.

In 1904 after five years at Trinity College, Cambridge, I went in for the Civil Service examination and applied for an Eastern Cadetship, as it was then called in the Ceylon Civil Service. This I obtained and I sailed for Colombo in October, 1904, arriving with 90 large volumes of Voltaire and a wire-haired fox-terrier in preparation for my task of assisting in the rule of the British Empire. In those prehistoric days Sir Henry Blake was Governor and the formidable Ashmore, Colonial Secretary. With Millington, my fellow cadet, I reported to the Secretariat and was presented to the Colonial Secretary. Ashmore examined us with a cynical eye and gave us a brief, sardonic, ironical address on our future duties and career. I was then appointed Cadet to the Jaffna Kachcheri and next day set out for the Northern Province with my dog and Voltaire. Born and bred in London, I was a little surprised by the primitive conditions of life in the Ceylon of those days. It took me over two days to get from Colombo to Jaffna. The first day I went by train to Anuradhapura, where I had to spend the night. The railway line ended at Anuradhapura, and I had to go by coach from Anuradhapura to Elephant Pass. The coach was simply a bullock cart and the passengers sat or lay on the tappal bags.

PREFACE

I was nearly three years in Jaffna, first as Cadet and later as Office Assistant, under two Government Agents, J P Lewis and F. H Price Price was a very curious man, he was very able, but a terrible snob and extremely lazy He gradually left all the work to me, but he insisted upon my doing his work with the greatest possible efficiency, and in the process he taught me how to run a large government office in the most businesslike manner and administer a province with great competence I had come out to Ceylon in a state of political innocence, for I had never really considered what my relations would be with the inhabitants of the Island I now found myself in the position of an empire-builder and imperialist, and it was in Jaffna that I first became dimly aware of the problems—and to me personal problems—of imperialism

In Jaffna I learnt Tamil and got to know and like the Tamil people In 1907 I was appointed Office Assistant in the Kandy Kachcheri I was a year in Kandy, and there I learnt Sinhalese and got to know and to like very much the Kandyan Sinhalese Life in Kandy for a young Civil Servant, with its considerable population of Europeans and planters, its club and hotels, was extraordinarily different from life in the Northern Province But I also found the Sinhalese, the villagers and the Kandyan Chiefs, very different from the Tamils Here I got to know fairly intimately another side of Ceylon, with which hardly any European, unless he were a Civil Servant, would be brought in contact It was the life of the beautiful Kandyan villages, hidden away in the hills and in those days incredibly remote and almost completely feudal The Kandyan villagers were very courteous, cheerful, proud people who cultivated their paddy fields and refused to work on tea estates Nothing I enjoyed more than to get away from the Kachcheri into one of these isolated villages to hold an enquiry into some complaint or dispute and hear the strange stories of village life The Kandyans had their own marriage and divorce laws and customs, there were two distinct forms of marriage, one of which was a form of polyandry They were administered, for some extraordinary reason, by the Government Agent or rather

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by his Office Assistant, and once a week I sat all the afternoon in the Kachcheri — I, a young Englishman born and bred in London — conscientiously unravelling the complicated matrimonial affairs of these remote Sinhalese men and women. The British Empire in 1907 was certainly a very strange phenomenon.

Sir Hugh Clifford, when Acting Governor, came up to Kandy and asked me whether I could arrange, for the entertainment of his guests, a first-rate display of Kandyan dancers. I went to Nugawela, Ratemahatmaya and Diwa Nilame, and asked him whether he could arrange this. He put on the most magnificent show, and the spectacle of the dancing by torchlight in the lovely gardens of the Pavilion was amazing. Clifford was very pleased and thought that I must be a first-class Civil Servant, and shortly afterwards sent me as Assistant Government Agent, Hambantota, promoting me out of my turn over the heads of a good many of my colleagues.

I was nearly three years in Hambantota as Assistant Government Agent. I grew to be extremely fond of the place and of its people. It was pure Sinhalese, no planters, no Europeans at all except a District Judge in Tangalla, two Irrigation Engineers, and an Assistant Superintendent of Police. It was entirely rural and agricultural in the west, and a vast stretch of jungle with the game sanctuary in the east. There were no real towns, no railway, hardly any roads. I continually travelled about the district and got to know well almost every yard of it, and to some extent the way of life and the attitude to life of its inhabitants. From early times, I think, the British Government in Ceylon very sensibly required their administrators in the provinces and districts to keep a diary of what they did. These diaries often provide an extraordinarily interesting historical picture of Ceylon life and British rule. For instance, I remember reading the diaries in the Jaffna Kachcheri which went right back to the early years of the 19th century. The diaries, which I kept for the three years in Hambantota and which are now being published, show the work which I did there and to some extent its impact upon me. The impact of my experiences during those

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years was powerful I was fascinated and deeply moved by the lives of the villagers and their psychology, and also by the perpetual menace of nature, the beautiful and at the same time sinister and savage life of the jungle

When I left Hambantota and Ceylon on my first leave in 1911, I was in considerable doubt about my future I had practically decided that much as I liked the Island, its people and a great deal of my work, I would not spend my life as an imperial Civil Servant When I first came out I had very few political opinions and had given little or no thought to the problems of imperialism But my seven years in the Service had *made me more and more doubtful whether I liked the prospect of spending my whole life as an imperialist ruling non-Europeans* After six months in England, all my doubts had vanished and I sent in my resignation from the Ceylon Civil Service The first thing which I did after that was to write *The Village in the Jungle* The book itself and the diaries show how the idea of the book came out of my experiences as the Assistant Government Agent I do not think that when I left Hambantota the idea of the book was consciously in my mind, but it must have been at the back of my mind, and by the time I had resigned I knew exactly what I wanted to write

After my resignation from the Ceylon Civil Service, I became a writer, a journalist and a publisher I always wanted to go back again and see Ceylon, but somehow or other something always cropped up to prevent me At last in 1960 54 years after I first saw the Island, I visited it again for three weeks Owing to the great kindness of the Ceylon Government and every one whom I met, whether Tamil or Sinhalese, whether official or unofficial, I was enabled to travel all over the Island seeing all the places which I had known so well And I was able to see the government of the country from the inside just as 50 years ago, as an administrative officer in province or district, in Jaffna, Kandy, and Hambantota, I had seen the government of the country from the inside, this was possible because, in 1960 the Civil Servants and all government officers, wherever

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I went, went out of their way to show me exactly what was being done and always they were very anxious to discuss with me the changes which have taken place since 1911.

To give an account here of what those changes have been would mean writing, not an introduction, but a book; but I can summarily just mention three immense changes which I observed. The first is the revolution which comes to a people when they win "independence", when they govern themselves. When I left the Civil Service in 1911 every Civil Servant administering in the provinces and districts was a European, indeed practically every member of the Civil Service was a European and so were nearly all the senior officers in all departments of government. Today the government, the administration, the public services are Sinhalese and Tamil from the highest to lowest. In other words the people of Ceylon today are governing themselves, instead of being ruled by young men (and old men) born in London or Edinburgh. I think that it is much better that people should govern themselves. The tempo of government and of life is quite different, it is more lively and vigorous in 1960 than it was in 1911, and that is mainly due to self-government.

The second change is also a change in tempo. When I was in the Ceylon Civil Service the motor car had hardly reached Ceylon. We travelled about our districts on a horse, on a bicycle, or on our feet. The pulse of ordinary life was determined by the pace of a bullock cart. There were no motor buses — even the "coach" from Anuradhapura to the Northern Province was, as I have said, a bullock cart. Today the pulse of ordinary life beats to the rhythm of the motor car or motor bus, 30, 40, or 50 miles an hour from village to village and from town to town. This has, of course, some great advantages, but also, I think, some disadvantages. One result has been that the kind of jungle village life described by me in these diaries and in *The Village in the Jungle* is ceasing, or perhaps has already ceased, to exist. At any rate, it would be quite impossible for a Government Agent to become intimately acquainted with it as I did 50 years ago. You could only get to know the villagers

PREFACE

and their villages by continually walking among them, sitting under a tree or on the bund of a tank and listening to their complaints and problems. Today one drives through the village at 30 miles an hour.

The third change is economic. In a visit of three weeks one cannot of course really learn what the economic conditions of a country like Ceylon are. But my impression everywhere was that the standard of life is on the average higher today than it was in 1911 and that "prosperity is a good deal wider spread. At any rate the changes are great in a district like Hambantota. The poverty stricken villages in the jungle, the Beddegamas of my time, have almost ceased to exist, where there were thousands of acres of waste land and scrub jungle, there are today thousands of acres of irrigated paddy fields, good roads, and flourishing villages. These changes are very great and all to the good. And yet beneath the surface there is much, I feel, that has hardly changed at all. I revisited some of the out-of-the-way villages which I had known so well, both in the Kandyan hills and in the low country. Gradually the people, adults and children, gathered round, stared at me, and began to talk desultorily, sometimes about the old days. I may be wrong, but it seemed to me that something of the old village, typically Sinhalese life still goes on there beneath the modern surface. There were many bad things in those old days, but there were also some good things. At any rate it is to the Sinhalese way of life, and the Sinhalese people who lived it that I look back with a kind of nostalgia, and no doubt sentimental, affection.

The Diaries
OF
LEONARD WOOLF
IN THE
Hambantota District
AUGUST 1908 TO MAY 1911

AUGUST 1908

AUGUST 28th

Took over from Mr. Schrader.

AUGUST 29th.

Routine in Kachcheri.

Rode in evening to the Maha Lewaya. Salt has just formed here and collection may begin on September 1st. A collection of 10,000 cwts. is possible.

AUGUST 30th. SUNDAY.

AUGUST 31st.

Routine Kachcheri and Court.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf
A.G.A.
31. 8. 08.

Amount of vote	Rs. 1200.00
Expended up to date	Rs. 892.05
Balance	Rs. 307.95

LEONARD WOOLF

SEPTEMBER 1908

SEPTEMBER 1st

Routine Kachcheri and Court

*Salt
ection* Early morning inspected town with Sanitary Inspector
Extremely little drinking water in the wells

Evening rode out to Maha Lewaya and found Salt Store-keeper there taking over bags This first day of collection, about 80 gatherers turned out This appears to be satisfactory

SEPTEMBER 2nd

*Karagan
a) a
t* Morning rode out to Maha Lewaya to see the gatherers at work About 120 working salt storekeeper present

The Government Agent and the Provincial Engineer arrived and in evening I accompanied them to the Karagan Aar Lewaya with reference to the proposal to construct an inlet in order to be able to flood this Lewaya with salt water

SEPTEMBER 3rd

In evening to Welgatta (8 miles) with the G A and P E

SEPTEMBER 4th

Rode to Wirawila (7 miles) Went to see the site for a gala suggested by the Mudr but the V C cannot I think, afford the expense

*Wirawila
d
rinda* In evening to Kirinda (11½ miles) The salt superintendent met us here We have already collected nearly 100,000 cwts and he expects with luck to collect another 100,000 from Bundala If we do, the collection will be a record

SEPTEMBER 5th

*Cattle
cpass* Rode to Bundala (6 miles) On the way some villagers at Magama rushed out of their fields loudly complaining of the damage done by straying cattle to their crops I went to look at their field 24 or 25 amunams in extent and completely fenced

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

but no fence can keep out a cow *Quatreus quid deuorat*. I came down on the velvidane who is one of the culprits and made a note to see the village headman who is another but was away at Kirinda. These are hard cases: it is impossible for the cultivator to seize the cattle or in many cases to identify them. I am not sure that it would not be a good thing to issue more licenses to shoot when the circumstances required by S. 14 of Ordinance 9 of 1876 are fulfilled, despite the danger that the licenses may be abused. Later drove with the GA to Bundala Lewaya to see the salt formation there.

In evening to Weligatta ($5\frac{1}{2}$ miles)

SEPTEMBER 6th, SUNDAY.

To Hambantota.

SEPTEMBER 7th.

Routine.

SEPTEMBER 8th.

Rain last night which destroyed the salt formation at Bundala just as collection was going to begin. The salt superintendent has hopes of its forming again in a week.

5. Salt
Formation
Destroyed

SEPTEMBER 9th.

Routine.

Heavy rain in the morning here, and all along the coast eastwards I should think. All the salt formation must have been ruined. It is scarcely to be wondered at that it is difficult to get labour for these collections, when one considers that the unfortunate people who tramped 40 or 50 miles to Bundala from West Giruwa Pattu, watched the rain destroy the salt which they had come to collect on the very day on which the collection was to begin.

SEPTEMBER 10th.

Court and Kachcheri.

LEONARD WOOLF

6 *Hambantota Hospital*

In evening I inspected the hospital Found Dr Dickman there he appears to be very keen on and interested in his work, the hospital was cleanly kept There are two wards one for males with 12 beds and one for females with 4 beds Dr Dickman tells me that the accommodation is quite inadequate Most of the cases are malaria There were two cases of parangi, one in the male and one in the female ward As a layman, this appears to me very wrong to have a man with parangi ulcers lying on a bed, while on the next bed is a PWD cooly suffering from ordinary ulcers The MO informed me that the parangi patient had to be admitted and there was no other place to put him I note that the RG's Report on Vital Statistics gives 21 deaths from parangi in the district in 1907

I noticed that the soiled rags and bandages were hung out in the hospital compound The MO explained that this is due to the want of a soiled linen room

The latrines were clean, but the washings drain out of the hospital premises and collect having no outlet The sanitary board might see to this I shall consult the District Engineer and see whether we cannot cut a drain to meet the roadside drain to carry off all these washings

I was interested to find, on asking the patients where they came from, that most of them were from Tissamaharama and the neighbourhood, as I find that it has been proposed to put a hospital there but the question has been put off for next year I have been looking into the question during the last 3 days, off and on

SEPTEMBER 11th

Routine

7 *Town Inspection B.Aeries*

Inspected town with MO and Sanitary Inspector in the evening A peculiar characteristic of Ceylon towns, (whether Kandy or Hambantota), is that every baker builds his oven adjoining a cesspit or latrine

SEPTEMBER 12th

8 *Tangalla*

To Tangalla (26 miles) Examined candidates for Sanitary Inspectorship The previous inspector ran away to

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

Kalutara, and then sent in his resignation giving as his reason that he had promised to marry the Mudaliyar's sister. He has preferred dismissal to marriage. In the evening inspected the town and hospital and visited the jail.

I have worked out some interesting facts from this year's administration reports with reference to a hospital at Tissamaharama. Mr. Schrader in June urged the necessity for such a hospital, but the PCMO replied that as the programme of new hospitals selected by HE does not include one for Tissa the matter should be brought up in our requests for 1910. The matter must wait therefore I suppose until next year : but when the time comes, I think I can present a strong case. The death rate for this district last year among the Sinhalese population was 64.1 and in 1906, 50.7 while for Ceylon in those years it was 29.0 and 34.6 respectively. In Magam Pattu where Tissa is situated it was 57.0 in 1907 and 54.4 in 1906. From the Estimates 1908 I gathered the following figures. The sanctioned expenditure on hospitals and dispensaries in the Hambantota District for 1907 was Rs. 8166 ; for the whole island (excluding hospitals and dispensaries worked under the Medical Aid Ordinance) Rs. 880,574 ; for the Mannar district (which I happened to know and in many respects resembles this district) Rs. 7,275. The expenditure on hospitals and dispensaries per head of population works out as follows :

For the whole Island	24 cents
For Hambantota District	7 cents
„ Mannar „	29 cents

Not a very equitable distribution ! On the other hand, I very much doubt whether the authorities, who sanction big irrigation schemes in unpopulated places like Tissa, after calculating how the initial cost is to be repaid, have reckoned in the capital cost the construction and maintenance of a hospital which becomes necessary as soon as the desert becomes populous.

LEONARD WOOLF

SEPTEMBER 13TH SUNDAY

10 *Irrigation work for Kirama Oya*

Rode out with the mudaliyar in the early morning along the Kirama Oya to inquire into the question of the Tangalla fields. These fields are irrigated by a temporary dam across the stream. They were cultivated this year for yala but the cultivation had to be abandoned owing to want of water. It is proposed to build a permanent anicut for Rs 2000. This will irrigate the fields and improve the water supply of Tangalla (though I am not myself satisfied that the two objects are compatible). It is proposed to defray the cost from the Irrigation Fine Fund. But I do not think this is altogether a work which should be made a charge upon the fund. These field owners perform no annual labour and have therefore in no way contributed to the fund. The legitimate use of the fine fund is, I take it, to get the work done for default for which the defaulters were fined. The balance should be employed on village works, on which the proprietors labour annually, for supplying sluices etc. Works like that under consideration should be undertaken as minor works and help given perhaps by the Sanitary Board as in the case of the Sinnar Dam at Mullaitivu. The matter will however require further consideration as it is part of a larger question involving some hundreds of amunams irrigated by the Kirama oya which have gone out of cultivation, owing (possibly) to the silting up of the stream.

SEPTEMBER 14th

11 *Village Tanks Tangalla to Ranna*

Rode to Ranna by the Gansabhawa road which leaves the main road at Netolpitiya. It took $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours as I inspected the following village tanks with the Kachcheri Mudaliyar, Pattu Mudaliyar and Irrigation Inspector.

Buwewa

Irrigated area 2 amunams 6 kurumies 17 proprietors. Has had no water for 5 years. Work done very unsatisfactory.

Kokkariva

Irrigated area 7 ams 2 pelas 24 proprietors. No work done last year, no prosecutions, extra work said to have been done the year before. No water for 5 years. Work unsatisfactory.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

Maluwatuwana

Irrigated area 15 amunams 15 proprietors. Restoration begun 1902. Work satisfactory, should be completed this year and given a sluice. No water for 4 years.

Beliwinne

Irrigated area 10 amunams 13 proprietors. Ditto.

Pokuna Wewa

4 amunams 3 proprietors. Ditto.

Hapelessa

1½ amunams 2 proprietors. Will take 5 years to complete. Begun 1902. Work poor. No water for 4 years. Paid commutation last year. No work done. Very doubtful whether restoration should proceed.

Hatupitiya

2 amunams 40 proprietors. Begun 1903. No water for 4 years. Should be finished this year.

The whole question of these village tanks seems to possess difficulties here. The advisability of continuing the restoration of some of them is doubtful and at any rate the work done should be on a more methodical system.

Inspected Ranna school.

In evening walked across 2 miles of paddy fields to Katakaduwa Mahawewa. Begun in 1903, it will require another 2 years to complete restoration. 10 proprietors with 39 amunams. Some really good work has been done here. New boards just put to the sluice.

SEPTEMBER 15th.

Rode Ambalantota 10 miles by road but took 4 hours by devious paths. Inspected.

12. *Ranna
Ambalantota
Village
Tanks*

LEONARD WOOLF

Batata Wewa

12 amunams 40 or 50 proprietors. Begun 8 years ago. Fields cultivated 3 years ago, work good.

Pallegama Kudawewa

30 amunams. A completed tank.

Hungama Wewa

8 amunams 20 proprietors. Completed tank, 8 amunams cultivated last year. It is fed by Kachchigal Aar.

3. *Mudaliyar*
E.G.P.

The Mudaliyar of East Giruwa Pattu though he lives in Ambalantota has gone on circuit without asking leave or giving any explanation. The ways and manners of Low Country Mudaliyars appear to differ from those of Kandyan chiefs. I have sent a special messenger ordering him to return here immediately.

4. *Rankiri*
vihare

In evening inspected the village and the old Rankiri vihare and dagoba. Some old statues have been found here : one of Buddha without the hands and in pieces has been restored. They have done what I have never seen before in any vihare: put the hands on holding an old black chatty to represent a begging bowl. The sculpturing of the drapery very fine and delicate.

SEPTEMBER 16th.

5. *Paya-*
bokka wewa

Rode Hambantota 8 miles. Inspected on the way Paya-bokka wewa. It is proposed to restore this but as it would mean flooding of much private land above the tank, I do not think it is feasible.

Routine Kachcheri and Court.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

SEPTEMBER 17th.

Routine Kachcheri.

In evening bicycled out to see the inlet of the Maha Lewaya with Salt Supt. It appears to me to be absurd to spend money on an inlet for the Karagam Aar Lewaya, when (as I am almost certain) this Maha Lewaya could be enormously improved. This inlet feeds both the Maha and Koholankala Lewayas but the difficulty is that it does not let in enough water. The Salt Superintendent is of opinion that if it would let in enough water to flood both Lewayas properly whenever required we could produce enough salt in these two to enable us to give up collecting at Bundala and Palatupana. (Transport from the Maha and Koholankala Lewayas to the salt store is about Re. 1 per ton cheaper than from Bundala). I am disposed to agree with him. The inlet is formed thus: there is a small basin (formed of a wall of rocks and bricks) over which the waves break. The water which washes over the wall into the basin is conducted by a channel into a deep fair sized pond. On one side is a bund and rough sluice, through which the water is let into the Koholankala Lewaya. From the far end of the pond the water flows very leisurely for 150 or 160 yards to another rough sluice through which water enters the Maha Lewaya. The main difficulty is that very little water gets into the basin. The reason of this is I think that the waves are broken up before they reach the basin by some small rocks. I want to examine this point again and shall go there on Sunday morning.

16. *Maha Lewaya Inl*

SEPTEMBER 18th.

I had told the Mudaliyar East Giruwa Pattu to come in here if he arrived in Ambalantota after I had left. He only appeared today. He has, I find, a very bad record and in this case his explanation was very weak. I tried to impress on him that he must mend his ways. Routine Kachcheri and Court.

17. *Mud EGP.*

LEONARD WOOLF

SEPTEMBER 19th

19 *Salt and
Delmege
Forsyth &
Co*

Routine Mr Finlay came to see me on behalf of Messrs Delmege Forsyth & Co with reference to many matters connected with salt. He is going to build a store for salt purchased by him and until it is ready he wants me to allow him to leave salt sold and delivered to him in one corner of the store from which it has been issued until the steamer comes in. I agreed to this on the understanding (which I shall put in writing) that Government takes no responsibility of any sort for the safety of it. I also agreed to have 1906 salt bags restitched. I declined to do anything with regard to weighing charges at time of purchase or with allowing salt to be bagged in the company's bags on the Lewaya. I am going with him by motor to Kirinda tomorrow.

SEPTEMBER 20th, SUNDAY

20 *Palatu
pana*

We motored to Kirinda and then on to Palatupana. We thought it might be possible to find some bay at the latter place from which Mr Finlay could ship the salt now lying out on the Lewaya. This would be a great advantage to Government as we should save a portion of the cost of carting to Kirinda. But it turned out to be out of the question. There is no suitable place near the Lewaya. Amaduwa where it could probably be done is 2 miles off and we should have to cut a road to it and a bay just south of the fort is very nearly a mile away and would also require a road. We were back in Hambantota by 4 p.m. having done 60 miles over by no means good roads.

SEPTEMBER 21st

21 *Police
Lines*

The 25 rooms at the old police lines are leased out at Re 1 per month to poor persons. There are Rs 150 in arrears and they are now very difficult to recover. I went down there this morning to try to settle things. By putting on considerable pressure, about Rs 50 have been recovered, but it is unpleasant work as the people are poor.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

SEPTEMBER 22nd.

Bicycled out to the inlet of the Maha Lewaya again. I am convinced that this could be improved. The intake of water was nothing for the quarter of an hour I watched it. The reason is that the ledge of rock slopes down to the root of the bund of the basin. First of all the wave is broken by the first ledge of rock. Then the water that gets over the ledge runs down the rocks to the root of the bund and very little has the strength to rise up over the lip of the basin. If a concrete slope was made from the ledge of rock up to the lip of the basin I am convinced that the waves would have the strength to run up the slope and into the basin. There is a natural storage area at the entrances to both lewayas and, if these were kept full of sea water, with proper sluice gates we could regulate the flow of water into both lewayas and thereby enormously increase their productiveness. I am to see the DE tomorrow and I shall speak to him about it.

22. *Lewaya Inlet.*

Routine.

SEPTEMBER 23rd.

Handed over site for DE's clerk to DE and inspected the proposed drain at the hospital with him (vide page 4). On consideration I agree with him that it is safer not to drain off the hospital washings. The hospital should have a septic pit to receive them.

Routine.

In the evening the DE was good enough to come and see the Maha lewaya inlet with me. He agrees with me that the concrete slope would increase the intake and as he would require to make experiments before definitely saying anything I am going to address the GA. The DE is wedded to the idea of a windmill but personally I hate machinery in this country. Very few natives can be got to understand it: in fact in Hambantota

23. *Maha Lewaya Inlet.*

LEONARD WOOLF

itself it has been found impossible to keep an ordinary village pump working at the wells for more than a few days At any rate if a windmill is to be put up it should be put up at the inlet to the Maha lewaya especially as I think it no improbable—the suggestion is the Salt Superintendent whose advice and experience I find most valuable—that the Karagam lewaya could be fed from the Maha Lewaya

SEPTEMBER 24th

Routine

SEPTEMBER 25th

Routine Kachcheri and Court The latter rather heavy

SEPTEMBER 26th

Routine Kachcheri and Court

24 Roads
and Major
Irrigation
Works

I notice that the DI in his Administration Report speaking of Major Irrigation Works says 'The absence of roads is one great hindrance There is no road to a large portion of the Kırindi oya scheme The same at Walawe ' After deciding what roads are most required, I shall see if the VC and DRC cannot set aside a certain amount each year for the purpose But the amounts would necessarily be very small, and after all such works ought to be included in the original cost of the work It is not much good irrigating land when it is impossible to get produce removed from it without making the cultivation unprofitable

SEPTEMBER 27th, SUNDAY

SEPTEMBER 28th

Routine

Evening town inspection The great want here is latrines and the great difficulty is sites But what is still more difficult is to arrange and when arranged, to supervise sufficiently the proper disposal of nightsoil

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

SEPTEMBER 29th.

Kachcheri and Court.

SEPTEMBER 30th.

Routine Kachcheri and Court.

Travelling vote AGA	Rs. 1200
Expended to 30.9.08.	Rs. 1013.45
Miles travelled in district in month	156

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
AGA.
30.9.08.

OCTOBER 1908

OCTOBER 1st.

Routine, Kachcheri.

OCTOBER 2nd.

Routine. The Sealark arrived.

OCTOBER 3rd.

Routine.

OCTOBER 4th SUNDAY.

Left 4 a.m. by coach for Tangalla to meet the GA and DI. Rules which the DI proposes to make under S. 56 of Ordinance 16 of 1906 for the Major Irrigation works Kirama, Urubokka, Walawe and Kirindi oya are to be laid before meetings of proprietors in order that they may have an opportunity of expressing their opinion. The GA is to preside at the first meeting at Tangalla for Kirama and Urubokka. Personally I am opposed to a good many things in the proposed rules and also the way in which the powers given to the DI under S. 56 appear to be regarded. It appears to be conceded that in the case of

1. Major
Irrigation
Works. Pro-
posed rules.

LEONARD WOOLF

works proclaimed under that section all powers connected with cultivation and Irrigation Headmen are transferred from the GA and AGA to the DI and his subordinates in addition to all powers connected with irrigation. This is another example of the tendency which is I believe as strong in India as in Ceylon to take administrative powers from the local administering officers and give them to experts such as engineers. I believe the policy to be radically wrong. The expert e.g. the Irrigation Engineer should be confined to his expert work i.e. the construction and maintenance of the irrigation work and the distribution of water—the administering officer should of course be bound to accept the expert's opinion upon the expert's work but administration i.e. the control of headmen, the enforcement of ancient customs and the development of cultivation should be left to him. The expert who administers is bound, however open minded he be, to be biased by his expert knowledge and work, the only bias of the administering officer is towards administration. The new system has arisen from people setting up a bugbear which they call 'dual control'. There can however be no difficulty about dual control if both the officers concerned in this case the IE and AGA are themselves properly controlled from headquarters. It seems to me absolutely clear that the only right and salutary course is for the AGA to be bound to accept the IE's opinion on all matters dealing with irrigation but having accepted that opinion it is for him after taking it and all other circumstances into consideration to deal with all questions of administration himself. If the AGA's decision proves to be too often wrong, the remedy is a new AGA just as if the IE's expert opinion proves to be too often wrong the remedy is a new IE. I rather think however that in the case of these rules matters have probably gone too far to allow of anything being done now.

OCTOBER 5th.

Went fully into the rules with the GA and IE in the morning and the meeting lasted the whole afternoon. Matters went better than I had anticipated and the principle mentioned above is to some extent admitted. The DI however holds out

*2. Meeting
at Tangalla.
Proposed
rules for
Urubokka
and Kirama.*

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

for the appointment and dismissal of Vel Vidanes (the present Irrigation headmen) being put into his hands. This however goes to the root of the principle and the GA is going to refer the matter to Government. We failed absolutely to fix the seasons for cultivation so as to suit all parties under Kirama and Urubokka. The DI has agreed to leave this over until I can visit the locality and try to devise some workable scheme. Some of the other rules were considerably altered and on the whole I think the proprietors realised that every consideration was being shown to them by the Irrigation Department. At any rate they had not much to say.

OCTOBER 6th.

Spent the morning attending to various matters and enquiries and saw the ISI with reference to the Kirama and Urubokka temporary dams. In evening to Ambalantota (18 miles) by coach to hold meeting for Walawe. The GA had to be back in Galle.

OCTOBER 7th.

The DI arrived for the meeting and the IE Tissa was also present. It was on the whole successful especially as the proprietors agreed to certain definite dates being fixed for cultivation which obviates the necessity of the system originally proposed by the DI by which the actual dates would be fixed, within a certain limit, each year by the proprietors themselves. They were irreconcilable on the question of labour on village tanks which get water from the scheme and the DI eventually agreed to strike the rule out. After the meeting they in a body presented a petition to me protesting against the handing over to the Irrigation Department without their being consulted. They objected to the complete control of their cultivation being given to that department without their being able to appeal to the Assistant Agent. I explained to them that all matters connected with their cultivation would still remain within the province of the Asst. Agent.

3. *Ambalantota meeting Proposed rules for Walawe.*

LEONARD WOOLF

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Urubokka
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THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

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3. Ambalantota meeting. Proposed rules for Walawe.

4 *Cultivation
under Kirama
and Urubok
ka oyas*

I spoke to the DI about the temporary dams on the Kirama and Urubokka oyas. He thinks the matter well worth looking into and I am going to hold meetings of proprietors to see what can be done. In evening to Hambantota 5 miles

5 *Welgatta
Village
Tanks*

OCTOBER 8th

Plenty of work in Kachcheri in morning and afternoon. In evening to Weligatta 8 miles. Inspected on way two village tanks (1) Udamalai Maha Wewa. Almost complete. Bund well restored. It is fed by an ela from Malala Aru. (2) Udamalar Kuda Wewa. Very poorly restored. It is fed by the spill water from the other tank.

6 *Tissa
Meeting
Rules for
Tissa protest
of
proprietors*

OCTOBER 9th

Rode to Tissa in morning (12 miles). Held meeting to consider rules in afternoon. It lasted 3 hours or more though the proprietors were I consider, eminently reasonable. Some rules somewhat altered but quite to the satisfaction of the IE who was representing the DI. The whole body of proprietors after the meeting protested against the whole control being vested in the irrigation officers. I think any open minded person who heard them state their position would agree with its reasonableness. They admit that the irrigation officer should have complete control of the actual irrigation works and as they said 'We have shown that we agree to that by agreeing to the rules.' But what they ask for is that they may appeal to a person unconnected with the works in those cases (which must sometime occur) in which they consider that they have cause for complaint against the irrigation department and in which their cultivation is concerned. They wanted to know whether they could still appeal to the AGA. I said they could, but the answer had to be diplomatic for so far as I can see if the AGA disagrees with the IE he is now more than ever powerless.

7 *Roads for
Tissa*

In evening walked with IE over some of the proposed roads. The low level sluice road to the dispensary which has been sanctioned (estimate Rs 1000 odd) seems to me one of the least important to cultivators.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

OCTOBER 10th.

Rode in early morning Yodawewa bund: and walked with IE right down the proposed road along the low level channel to where it meets the Lukasgoda proposed road: thence across the fields to Magama old channel and up the proposed road through Jayawickrema's estate. The latter road out of the question. I think the low level channel road should be opened first: it requires very little making. Got in at 10 having started at 6.30 a.m.

8. Roads for Tissa.

Listened to and inquired into complaints of proprietors and cultivators for two hours in afternoon.

Started 4.30 p.m. and rode by the Andella road (? road) to Weligatta (10 miles) past the deserted rubber estate. Very bad going in places resulting once in my horse turning a somersault and coming down on the top of his head but without damage to either of us.

9. Andella Road

OCTOBER 11th, SUNDAY.

Rode into Hambantota (8 miles). Inspected on way Weligatta wewa, a fine tank, but the bund scrappy in places. Pallamalai wewa an immense length of bund about 1/3 only completed for a very small extent of fields. The villagers complained that the ground is now so hard that they cannot do the earthwork for this year. Pallamalai Kudawewa. (The villagers spoke of this by another name which I have forgotten). A ridiculous tank practically no land under it, and the bund a series of waves. Kolangalla 29 proprietors about 12 amunams. Should certainly be completed next year.

10. Village Tanks.

OCTOBER 12th.

Routine Kachcheri and Court. Many chena cases in latter.

OCTOBER 13th.

Routine Kachcheri and Court. We are collecting salt again at Maha and Palatupana Lewayas. Walked out in evening to Maha Lewaya, about 700 cwts. collected. Salt rather dirty.

11. Salt.

LEONARD WOOLF

OCTOBER 14th.

Paid a visit to the Sealark in morning. Routine Kachcheri and Court.

OCTOBER 15th.

Routine.

OCTOBER 16th.

12. Salt and rates for removal.

Routine. I found that the rates for removing salt from lewayas to stores in my opinion much too high. The removal is done on contract for which tenders are called and I suspect a combination among contractors. I obtained leave from the Controller of Revenue to try as an experiment removing salt in hired carts. I am now offering the following rates to carters and the Salt Supt. assures me that he has got a certain number of carts to accept.

Lewaya	Rate	Previous average contract rate
	Rs.	Rs.
Palatupana	1 . 37 per ton	1 . 91 per ton
Bundala	2 . 00 „ „	2 . 50 „ „
Maha	1 . 00 „ „	1 . 23 „ „

The Maha rate is still I think too high but the truth is I am not in a position to haggle. The stock of salt in the Hambantota stores is only 14000 cwts. and I must get salt in quickly somehow. The contractors ask Rs. 1.20 per ton for the Maha Lewaya removal. The stock has gone down because of the large issues to Messrs. Delmege Forsyth & Co. For July, August, and September our issues rose from an average of slightly under 5500 cwts. per month to an average of over 15500 cwts. per month. It all now depends on whether I can get a proper supply of carts. I am also issuing to carters direct from the heaps stacked at the lewaya (Maha) which saves all cost of removal and I want to induce Messrs. Delmege Forsyth & Co. to take delivery there as well.

fields under the low level sluice are concerned, is the temporary dams. In beginning cultivation the people have to build temporary dams across the stream in order to make amunas in which to store the water. Then very often just as they are going to sow a flood will come and wash the whole thing away and matters have to be started all over again from the beginning. It is very difficult therefore to bind the proprietors down to a definite period within which cultivation must be begun and finished.

16 *Netolpitiya to Kahagal Vihare*
The Mandaduwa channel

At 1.30 bicycled 4 miles to Netolpitiya where my horse waited for me. Held meeting of proprietors of lands under southern tanks fed by the Mandaduwa channel and then rode and walked right up these fields and chain of tanks as far as Ranasingewewa, thence across country to Kabagal Vihare which I reached at about 7 p.m. and where I stayed the night. The Mandaduwa channel is fed from the high level sluice of Udukiruwila tank and is part of the Urubokka scheme. Water can get into this channel only when the water is a foot below spill level. The channel feeds a chain of village tanks, the water finding its way from one tank to another until it reaches Netolpitiya which is the southernmost and the last. I inspected Netolpitiya, Pattiyapola Mahawewa and Ranasingewewa. There is great difficulty in fixing periods of cultivation for these fields and the whole system is represented as very unsatisfactory but I do not after visiting the spot think it is as unsatisfactory as has been made out. In fact I am satisfied that most of the fields under the Mandaduwa channel, if the fields under Netolpitiya tank are excluded, get one crop a year. There are two main reasons for the difficulties here (in addition to the obvious one that it is a high level system and therefore the supply of water is to some extent necessarily precarious).

- (1) There is no proper supervision and consequently waste of water.
- (2) The fields under the tanks are maha fields, the beds of the tanks are cultivated for yala or pera maha and pay water rate.



LEONARD WOOLF

OCTOBER 24th

19 *Wiraketiya to Tangalla The Mandaduwa channel*

Started walking from Wiraketiya to Tangalla down the chain of tanks under Mandaduwa channel. The first is Potuwewa the sluice has been blocked up and the fields are irrigated from the spill. Result all the water below spill level is wasted, and then very naturally the people at Netolpitiya complain that the water never reaches them. The second is Etunnawala. Here there is a masonry sluice standing in splendid isolation from the bund. The third is Nugagaha wewa, which is still in course of restoration. When water comes out of the sluice here it is a good 4 feet below the level of the fields. I promised the people a pipe sluice if they complete the tank next year which they agreed to do. Came out on the road five miles from Wiraketiya and rode in to Tangalla another five miles.

OCTOBER 25th, SUNDAY

20 *Temporary dams on Kirama Oya*

In morning meeting of non water rate paying proprietors under Kirama Oya to consider the question of replacing the temporary dams by permanent anicuts. Before asking for an estimate, I wanted to find out whether the proprietors would be willing to repay cost of a reasonable estimate in 10 annual instalments and pay a maintenance rate. There was not a good attendance of proprietors but I am sure that if a supply of water could be assured they would agree. Here again, the ensuring an adequate supply of water would, I am sure, be largely a matter of supervision.

21 *Kahawatta Village Tanks*

In evening rode to Kahawatta (6 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles). Inspected on way (1) Sittinamaluwa, a village tank practically completed with a splendid masonry sluice for which boards have just been provided, (2) Puwakdandawa, a tank on which much work remains to be done. There is a large stretch of fields which I thought was under the tank but the ISI tells me there are only 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ amunams which perform labour and get water. But the tank when restored could irrigate the whole stretch and they should all I think be induced to come in and complete the tank next year.

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OCTOBER 26th.

Defaulters and selection of headmen. In evening to Walas-
mulla (8 miles). Inspected on way Pallatara Alut wewa a tank
with a poorly restored bund. There is a masonry sluice but
the villagers complain that it is too high. They should be given
a pipe sluice next year if they complete the bund. I also went
with Mr. de Silva, Irrigation Inspector to see one of the tempo-
rary dams across the Kirama oya. It and half the paddy fields
continually get washed away: the people pay no water rate.
He says that he made an estimate for a permanent anicut here
and sent it to the head office but nothing has since been heard
of it, and that if constructed the people would pay water rate.

22. *Walas-
mulla.*

OCTOBER 27th.

In morning to Arachchi Amuna and a private anicut across
the Kirama with the II. The non water rate payers get as good
and better a supply of water than the water rate payers.

Inspected Walasmulla school and found it excellent. It
has the best school garden of any school seen by me but the
teacher complains that the inspector of school gardens went
to Wiraketiya but not to his school.

Inspected Koholama. Only 12 amunams out of a large track
of fields under this tank can be irrigated yearly for maha. The
fields above the tank are yala fields and are irrigated by a channel
from Etpitiya amuna and pay water rate. Water should be
supplied for maha to the fields under the tanks and water rate
recovered which would bring about 200 or 250 acres on to the
specification and would ensure a large tract of fields being re-
gularly cultivated.

23. *Koholā-
ma wewa.*

OCTOBER 28th,

At Kirama. Meeting of proprietors regarding temporary
dams. They will agree to repay reasonable estimate in ten
annual instalments and pay a moderate maintenance rate.

24. *Kirama*

Defaulters and tappal.

LEONARD WOOLF

OCTOBER 29th

Rode to Katuwana 5 miles

25 *Katuwana*
Extirpation of
malaria

Defaulters and petitions Inspected the school Children look most unhealthy, most of them with swollen spleens I impressed upon the teacher that he must administer quinine to the children but I could not help recalling some sentences in a *Times* 'Leader' I had just read on Major Ross' report on the prevention of fever in Mauritius 'Free quinine, lectures on elementary hygiene and the covering of water barrels seem to constitute all that has been attempted in many localities He points out that the first step for Government to take would be to decide definitely whether or not it really intended to attack the disease Sanitation is a form of war, requiring money, discipline, organisation and thought it should begin by ascertaining the amount of mischief produced by the disease and the probable cost of extirpating it no attempt has been made to ascertain the facts as to prevalence and the efforts at prevention and cure have often been only nominal such as popular lectures on mosquitoes, and on the propriety of placing wire gauze over water butts The existing amount of the disease, its increase or diminution in the population can be ascertained at regular periods by the simple test afforded by the proportion of persons who suffer from splenic enlargement'

26 *Dutch*
Fort

Inspected the Dutch fort The well has been excavated to a depth of 30 feet as it was thought that various antiquities had been buried there We have now got down to stones and gravel and our money is exhausted It might be worth while going on perhaps although the original depth of the well must have been very great

OCTOBER 30th

27 *Talawa*
Village tanks
Midleyia
Kudagoda

Rode Talawa 10 miles Inspected on way (1) Middeniya wewa A poor tank A Buddhist priest eggs on the people not to do the work because his fields can be irrigated however small the bund There is an irrigation case pending against him since 1906 A year's work should complete the tank (2) Kuda-

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goda wewa. Poor bund. A year's work should complete this too. Great want of water in Kudagoda. A well has been sunk 30 feet or so only to find rock. The villagers say they cannot blast this: they agree to supply the labour if I send the ISI (who understands it) with blasting powder.

Inspected Talawa Government school: fairly satisfactory.

In evening inspected (1) Talawa Madamalangana wewa, 29. *Village tanks.* (2) Talawa Alut wewa, (3) Talawa Damana wewa. All being well restored and should be finished next year. I am making the ISI prepare longitudinal sections of all village tank bunds and plans of the tanks. Mr. Muthurajah the ISI for Magam Pattu and East Giruwa Pattu had already done so for some of the Talawa tanks: he is doing good work here. (4) Daberella wewa, ditto. The villagers told me they did not want a pipe sluice; they want a channel cut from the Urubokka oya 10 or 12 miles away.

OCTOBER 31st.

Rode Angunakolapelessa 8 miles inspecting 3 tanks at 30. *Angunakolapelessa Village tanks Debokkawa (3)*
 Debokkawa (1) Ihalawewa, (2) Madawewa, (3) Pahalawewa. Fairly well restored: should be completed next year.

Inspected school in evening, drill satisfactory. Then to (1) Angunakolapelessa tank, (2) Amuna wewa, (3) Mulanagodai wewa. The first is practically completed: the DRC road is to pass over the bund and the DRC should widen it. (2) & (3) should be completed next year.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf,
 AGA.

Miles travelled in month	177
Vote	Rs. 1200
Addition allowed	200
	<u>1400</u>
Spent upto date	1297.95
Balance available	<u><u>102.05</u></u>

NOVEMBER 1908

NOVEMBER 1st.

To Ambalantota 12 miles. Inspected (1) Mulana Maha wewa, (2) Mulana Punchi wewa, (3) Kimulai wewa. In evening walked up the Koggala road to see the pipe sluice factory we have put up.

NOVEMBER 2nd.

To Hambantota 8 miles.
Routine.

NOVEMBER 3rd.

Books of 14 days to do.

NOVEMBER 4th.

1. *Walawe
Specification*

Routine. Mr. Baker arrived to see what can be done with the Walawe specification: spent most of the morning going into the matter with him.

NOVEMBER 5th.

2. *Removal
of Salt.*

Reported today to the GA on the whole question of removing salt. As anticipated the saving to Government from hiring carts for removing is astonishing. I began my system on October 17th. From October 17th to November 3rd I removed 6085 cwts. of salt from the Maha lewaya at 73 cents a ton instead of at 1.20 a ton the lowest tender price. The total cost was Rs. 222: if the tender had been accepted it would have been Rs. 364. I removed over 6000 cwts. in 17 days in the wet season: in the same season last year, the contractor took a month to remove 2900 cwts. Meanwhile despite this Delmege Forsyth & Co. are purchasing salt in such large quantities that I cannot keep sufficient salt in the stores unless I also remove from Bundala lewaya. I have just received tenders for removing about 29000 cwts. from Bundala: the lowest tender is Rs. 2.70 per ton. In the past 17 days I have been trying to hire carts for removal from Bundala but I only succeeded in removing 464 cwts. at a cost of Re. 1.89 per ton. My difficulties are that I have been away on circuit, the weather is most

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unfavourable the road being under water, there has been a Mohamedan festival and possibly my price is too low. However the salt must be removed if we are to keep pace with the company's purchases. I have recommended that the tenders be refused and that I be allowed more time to try to get carts that if I do not succeed in getting carts at Rs. 2 per trip by November 15th I be allowed to increase the price up to Rs. 2.50. At Rs. 2.50 a trip, it would cost about Rs. 2.40 per ton to remove, a saving of 30 cents a ton or Rs.450 on the 30,000 cwts. I have hopes still of getting carts at Rs. 2 per trip and I am practically certain of getting as much removed per month as the contractor at Rs. 2.25 or Rs. 2.50. The most that a contractor will remove is 6,000 cwts. a month: Delmege Forsyth are taking 15,000 to 20,000 cwts. a month from the store: it is obvious that it is no easy task to devise some method of keeping the store supplied. If I can only get 50 carts working at Bundala, I shall remove 9000 cwts. a month, and with the 14,000 cwts. still to be removed from Maha lewaya, I shall be safe until the middle of January at least.

NOVEMBER 6th.

Routine.

NOVEMBER 7th.

Routine. The Salt Superintendent Mr. Bahar and the Salt Storekeeper Mr. Amarasinghe have been invaluable in this struggle to get carts. Their work has been incessant and they do it with a cheerfulness and willingness which is as rare as it is refreshing. Yesterday I really thought that I was going to be defeated: the contractors of course are doing everything in their power to defeat the system. Today the Salt Superintendent tells me that he is practically certain of getting carts at Rs. 2 per trip in the course of a few days.

3. *Salt removal*

NOVEMBER 8th.

Sunday. To Ambalantota and back, snipe shooting without the snipe.

LEONARD WOOLF

NOVEMBER 9th

Attended parade of CLI for the King's birthday

NOVEMBER 10th

4 Salt
watching

Routine Rode to Maha lewaya in evening to look into the question of watchers I am sure Government spends much too much on watching salt, but I don't want to do anything until I have time to go thoroughly into the question with the Superintendent

NOVEMBER 11th

Routine Inspection of salt department by a clerk from the Controller of Revenue's office

NOVEMBER 12th

Routine My recommendations with regard to salt removal have been approved by wire

NOVEMBER 13th

Routine To Maha lewaya in evening Forty four cartloads of salt removed today or about 900 cwts

NOVEMBER 14th

Routine

NOVEMBER 15th

Sunday

NOVEMBER 16th

Routine

NOVEMBER 17th

5 Salt
removal

We have now been removing and issuing salt on the new system exactly a month with the following result

Removed from Maha lewaya	8633 cwts
Issued at Maha lewaya	2742 cwts
Removed from Bundala lewaya	679 cwts
	<u>12054 cwts</u>

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It cost Rs. 403 to remove the 8633 cwts. from Maha lewaya or about 93 cents per ton as against Rs. 1.20 the lowest tender. But with the 2742 cwts. issued to carters we removed 11375 cwts. at a cost of Rs. 402 or 70 cents per ton thus saving 50 cents per ton. The 697 cwts. cost Rs. 64 to remove or Rs. 1.88 per ton as against Rs. 2.70 the lowest tender, a saving of 82 cents per ton. In 1906, the contractor at this time of the year removed only 1810 cwts. from Bundala lewaya in October and none in November, while no salt was removed from Maha lewaya in October and 1408 cwts. in November: in 1907, the contractor removed 259 cwts. in October and 4388 cwts. in November from Bundala, and none in October and 2970 cwts. in November.

I have now got 5 carts to work regularly at Bundala and the Muhandiram of Magampattu says he can get 10 more at the end of November, while the Salt Superintendent has the promise of about 10 more in the next 7 days or so. I have, therefore, decided not to offer more than Rs. 2.

NOVEMBER 18th.

Routine.

NOVEMBER 19th.

Routine.

NOVEMBER 20th.

19,000 cwts. of salt have been purchased in 3 days from Kirinda stores and I have no more to issue. I have 5 carts working regularly between Palatupana and Kirinda but of course the amount they remove is absolutely unable to meet the demand. I get wires from the Controller of Revenue and from Messrs. Delmege Forsyth and Co., but I am afraid it is impossible to meet the demand at both places. I can, I think, get 4 more carts at Palatupana but I doubt being able to get more at this time of the year. I remember a month at the Pearl Fishery made it impossible ever again to enjoy an oyster, I wonder whether 3 months at Hambantota produces the same effort with regard to salt.

LEONARD WOOLF

NOVEMBER 21st.

7. *Salt.*

More difficulties. The five carts which I have got for Bundala say they cannot possibly remove from there now as the road is impassable, being covered with unrolled metal.

NOVEMBER 22nd.

Sunday.

NOVEMBER 23rd.

8. *Murder.*

At 8.30 a.m. received information of a murder at Tissa. Started to drive there at 10 o'clock. I don't wonder at the carts refusing to take the salt from Bundala. From the 2nd to the 7th mile it is merely one long metal heap; I had to walk most of this. Got to Wirawila 15 miles at 1 p.m. and stopped 1½ hours there. Reached Tissa at 3 and held inquiry till 8 p.m. A quarrel between a man and the woman kept by him because she did not pound the paddy. He thrashed her one night and the next morning started again and apparently killed her by kicking her on the spleen. His statement amounts to a confession and the evidence is conclusive. It is merely the legal question as to whether it is murder.

NOVEMBER 24th.

9. *Hambantota roads.*

Started back for Hambantota at 6.45 a.m. and got in at 10.30. At the 5th mile I left the PWD road and drove across country. My horse had done over 40 miles in the 24 hours over the most impossible roads. In court in afternoon a case of stabbing from Wirawila.

NOVEMBER 25th.

Routine. Took evidence of two more witnesses in the murder case. It is now complete except for the doctor's evidence.

NOVEMBER 26th.

10. *Murder case*

Routine. Finished the murder case by taking the doctor's evidence which shows that the man will never be convicted of

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murder. The woman was suffering from so diseased a spleen that a very light blow would have caused death. The doctor was of opinion that it was a slight blow which ruptured the spleen and caused death.

I found that there were no really reliable figures here showing exactly what the cost of production of salt at the different lewayas are. What I wanted to get at was what the total cost per cwt. of say the salt collected in 1906 at Bundala had been to Government including everything when it was sold at the Hambantota stores for Rs. 3. It is by no means an easy calculation as it involves finding out e.g. the proportionate cost of watching 1906 salt at the lewaya prior to its removal to the store and of course it is not all removed to the store at the same time. So far I have worked the figures out for 3 collections only, i.e.

1. Estimated collection of 67887 cwts. at Bundala in 1906
2. Estimated collection of 18170 cwts. at Maha lewaya in 1907
3. Estimated collection of 476 cwts. at Kohalankala in 1907

I give the results in detail on page 32. The results are particularly interesting in so far as they show what a saving results from large collections. The total cost of production up to the time of sale was for

1. Maha lewaya	40 cents per cwt.
2. Bundala lewaya	54 $\frac{3}{4}$ cents per cwt.
3. Kohalankala lewaya	92 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents per cwt.

But whereas the Maha lewaya salt was all removed in to the store and therefore only required watching at the lewaya for about 4 months and Kohalankala 6 months, the Bundala salt was not removed to the store for a year and 9 months. Moreover the cost of transport from Bundala was 12 $\frac{9}{10}$ cents and Kohalankala 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents per cwt. And yet the cost of production of the small collection at Kohalankala was per cwt. nearly double that of the large collection at Bundala. One may safely

LEONARD WOOLF

Bundala 1906 Maha Lewaya 1907 Koholankala 1907

	Cwts.	
Estimated Collection	476	
Removed to Store	469	
	7	wastage

	Rs.	cents per cwt.	Rs.	cents per cwt.
Cost of collecting and stacking	9,729	16 4/5	3,168	15
Cost of watching at Lewaya	6,375	11	1,218	5 3/5
Cost of materials at Lewaya	950	1 4/5	429	2
Cost of transport to store	7,469	12 9/10	1,039	5

Cost of production when delivered at Hambantota store 24,523 42 1/2 5,854 27 3/5 377 80

Cost of Salt Dept. Establishment 4 4

Cost of Watching & C at Hambantota store prior to sale 8 1/4 8 1/4

Total cost of production & working expenses 54 3/4 cents per cwt. 40 cents per cwt. 92 1/4 cents per cwt.

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say that if the productiveness of the Maha and Kohalankala lewayas could be increased to equal that of the Bundala lewaya, the cost per cwt. could be reduced to 35 cents or less.

NOVEMBER 27th.

Rode Bundala in the evening by a track which keeps near the sea. This I imagine is the old Bundala road. It must be quite 3 miles shorter than the present road by Weligatta which is $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Inspected salt depots at the lewaya. 12. *Bundala*

NOVEMBER 28th.

In early morning to Bundala lewaya to examine salt depots and watchers. New stores are in process of construction. Then on to Kirinda: inspecting on way Bendu wewa and Uramiya wewa, neither very satisfactory. 13. *Bundala and Kirinda*

Work at Kirinda with salt storekeeper. We have sold practically the entire stock of salt in Kirinda stores. I am removing about 80 cwts. a day now and am doing my utmost to get more carts but not with much success. In evening to Tissa.

NOVEMBER 29th.

Sunday.

NOVEMBER 30th.

Big tappal in morning. Land sale in afternoon. Seven persons applied for an extension of time for cultivation. I went into their cases with the IE. Three based on absolutely false statements. The other four had never been to the IE before, though their complaint is that they did not get water. I refused all. 14. *Tissa cultivation*

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.

Miles travelled in month	101
Balance in travelling vote	Rs. 34.55

DECEMBER 1908

DECEMBER 1st.

Drove from Tissa to Hambantota.

DECEMBER 2nd.

1. *Rainfall*

The rainfall in November was only 4.59 inches. For the 11 months it is 22.41 against a mean during 28 years of 31.26. It means that there will again be no crops under the village tanks. Even at Tissa, there is very little water in Yodawewa which should be full by now.

2. *Salt Revenue*

The revenue from salt in November was just under Rs. 100,000 or just about a quarter of the entire revenue of the district for 1907.

DECEMBER 3rd.

Routine.

DECEMBER 4th.

Routine.

DECEMBER 5th.

To Tangalla.

DECEMBER 6th.

To Galle *en route* for Kandy to give evidence in criminal DC case.

DECEMBER 11th.

Bicycled from Bandarawela to Tanamalwila where my carts and horse waited for me.

DECEMBER 12.

Rode Hambantota 30 miles. Road much improved. Met PE at Lunagan Vihare.

DECEMBER 13th, SUNDAY.

DECEMBER 14th.

3. *Maha lewaya inlet.*

Went with PE and Salt Superintendent to Maha lewaya inlet and met DE there. The PE is all in favour of a windmill pump for getting sea water into the lewaya: he thinks the improvement of the inlet would prove very costly.

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DECEMBER 15th.

Four civil cases and two PC cases fixed for trial; result, with arrears of work owing to my week's absence, that for 2 days running there has been a full 12 hours of work to do in the day.

DECEMBER 16th.

Still working off arrears.

DECEMBER 17th.

Paid a surprise visit to the salt stores to check the receipt of salt. The bags are weighed at Bundala lewaya, the weight is marked on the bags, and they are again weighed at the stores. A cart had just arrived and I checked weight of each of it eighteen bags. I found there was an excess of about 36 pounds over the weight given at the lewaya. I tried another cart of 18 bags and found an excess weight of about 15 pounds. I then found that in practically every case in which I had not been present, according to the checkers the weight of a cartload had been less than the weight as given at the lewaya. I therefore considered that I was justified in assuming

4. Surprise visit to salt store.

- (1) That the weighing at the lewaya for which the head-guard is responsible is inaccurate.
- (2) That the checking of the weighing at the stores for which the checkers are responsible is inaccurate. (and I may add that the inaccuracy appears to be on the side which will show the least wastage when a store is emptied.)

I accordingly told the Salt Superintendent who was now present that I suspended the checkers and headguard for 6 months from Government service. The checkers pleaded that it was not fair to rely on figures obtained by checking two carts. The figures appeared to me conclusive but I agreed to go on checking carts on condition that an additional 6 months suspension would be given for every cart which confirm my deduction. One more cart which showed an excess of 51 pounds satisfied them and I suspended all three for a year. I have very

LEONARD WOOLF

little faith in the accuracy with which Government salt is weighed anywhere, and I believe that variations in wastage of salt in stores is due in a large measure to this inaccuracy. The only check possible is by unexpected visits like this and short shrift to those responsible if the figures point to inaccuracy. For the same reasons, I should never accept any explanation of wastage of salt in store higher than that ordinarily allowed which is 2% (I think) per 12 months. Any higher wastage should invariably be paid for by the storekeeper. Accordingly I have just called upon the storekeeper Kirinda to pay for 13 cwts of salt excess wastage found in a store just emptied. Far too much leniency is shown in these cases. I consider eventually it becomes a custom to apply for and obtain 'authority to pass' anything. The result is a sort of vested interest is created and it is extremely difficult to question anything because if one does the invariable answer is 'O we have always applied for and obtained authority to pass that'. Consequently the door is opened to any amount of slackness if not to actual dishonesty.

DECEMBER 18th

Routine

DECEMBER 19th

Routine

DECEMBER 20th

Sunday

DECEMBER 21st

*5 Check on
illicit removal
of salt*

I sent the police sergeant out to Wirawila on December 17th with 'sealed orders' to stop every cart going up the road and if it contained salt to demand the permit of removal. This was merely an experiment to see whether any salt is illicitly removed up the road. According to his report he examined carts on the 17th, 18th, and 19th. 14 carts contained salt and all had permits. I have had the number of bags in each cart checked with our permit foils and the number in each case was correct.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

DECEMBER 22nd.

Routine.

DECEMBER 23rd.

Routine.

DECEMBER 24th.

Government Holiday.

Drove out to Tissa (20 miles)

DECEMBER 25th.

Rode along the Ellagala road and then by the supply channel to the Kataragama regulator. This is one of the proposed Tissa roads: except for the first 3/4 of a mile (which is however now used by carts) it appears to me that it would be of very little use.

*6. Tissa
Ellagalla
road.*

DECEMBER 26th.

Rode via Wirawila to $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles on Tanamawila road and then by a jungle road of two miles to the anicut (about 20 miles). Drove back to Hambantota in evening (20 miles).

DECEMBER 27th.

Sunday.

DECEMBER 28th.

Government Holiday.

DECEMBER 29th.

Routine.

DECEMBER 30th.

Routine.

DECEMBER 31st.

Routine.

Miles travelled in district about 160.

Amount of vote Rs. 1200.00.

Balance Nil.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
AGA.

DIARY FOR 1909

JANUARY 1909

JANUARY 1st.

Holiday.

JANUARY 2nd.

do.

JANUARY 3rd.

do. Drove to Ranna with Mr. Southern D.J. Tangalla. The fields round Kahandawa Vihare full of snipe.

JANUARY 4th.

do. Drove back to Hambantota. The road is terribly bad again.

JANUARY 5th.

1. *Rainfall*
1908.

Routine. The rainfall for 1908 was just over 25 inches, 12 inches below the average. The country is getting brown and parched again already.

JANUARY 6th.

2. *Salt*
Revenue
1908—*Messrs*
Delmege
Forsyth.

The revenue from salt last year was over Rs. 450,000 or nearly Rs. 50,000 more than the entire revenue of the District in 1907—entirely due to Messrs. Delmege Forsyth's purchases. In this connection I have had to write a report on a complaint or series of complaints from the Company about the issue

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of salt from Kirinda. The real cause of these complaints is that the Company were not given a monopoly of the Kirinda Salt, and that when they did purchase, issues were made to other purchasers at the same time as they were made to them. As for the monopoly that was settled by Government I was very careful to inform Delmege Forsyth of the Government's decision at once in October and I even asked them what quantity of salt they would be prepared to take. In reply, they told me that they could not say as they had difficulties in chartering schooners. But they now write to the Controller of Revenue that when they had completed their arrangements for shipping the salt, they were 'disappointed' to find that all the salt was not available for them !

It was not available because the Galle traders had in the meantime purchased and paid for salt. Their complaint about the issuing to the Galle traders is still more unreasonable. If 2 firms buy each 5000 cwts. on the same day and it is only possible to issue 1000 cwts. a day, even an elementary knowledge of Euclid would lead one to the conclusion that 500 cwts. would and should be issued to each firm daily.

The truth is that both the Galle traders and the Company want the Kirinda salt because it is 45 cents a cwt. cheaper than Hambantota salt. But the Company finds difficulties in getting schooners while the Galle traders have their own boats. I understand that the Galle men are successfully competing with the Company in this province and I believe it is because they are selling Kirinda salt which they buy at Rs. 2.55 against the Company's Hambantota salt bought at Rs. 3/-.

JANUARY 7th, 8th, and 9th.

Routine.

JANUARY 10th.

Sunday.

LEONARD WOOLF

JANUARY 11th.

3. *Walawe Scheme and Roads.*

Drove Ambalantota (8 miles) and from there walked with IE Walawe to Mamadola (about 5 miles). The first part of the way is over the road which leads to Walawe Estate. It is used by carts: formerly it went on into the Sansagama lands but has now been encroached on. The latter part of our walk was over a track across the paddy fields. At one place we remarked with astonishment some seven people working in a paddy field and with increased astonishment that they were actually weeding.

4. *A rare spectacle.*

In the evening rode down to the 2nd channel and along it. There too, for a mile or more there is a road used by carts. Walawe is far better off for these cart tracks by which produce is removed from the fields than Tissa or than I was led to suppose. Later I went along another cart track which leads to the Sansagama lands.

JANUARY 12th.

5. *The Liyangahawatte road.*

The Director of Irrigation is complaining about the state of the P.W.D. road from the Tangalla-Hambantota road to Liyangahatota so I rode up to the anicut. The road is gravel and naturally in wet weather cuts up badly but now that it is dry there is nothing to complain of. I would much rather drive over it than over the main metalled Tangalla road. There is however one place where (on the 5th or 6th mile) it certainly looks as if it requires raising.

6. *Abesekeragama proposed scheme*

From Liyangahatota rode to Abesekeragama ($2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 miles), by the Gansabhawa road which goes on to Talawa. The IE has been called on by Government to report on a small irrigation scheme here suggested by Mr. Schrader. The village want an anicut put across the Kachchigalara and a channel cut from it to the Abesekeragama village tanks. I have not yet seen the papers but this according to the IE was the original suggestion. But to the north of Abesekeragama wewa is a tank Dickwewa the waste water from which fills Abesekeragama wewa. To the north of Dickwewa is another tank Metigatwala wewa through which the Kachchigalara flows. Obviously a channel from Metigatwala wewa to Dickwewa would serve

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the same purpose as an anicut and channel from the Kachchigara to Abesekeragama wewa, except that Dickwewa would benefit by it as well. I wanted to go up to Metigatwala wewa and see whether what the villagers say is true, namely, that another stream, the Bogal ara, joins the Kachchigal at this tank. It had however got so late that I could only get to Dickwewa one mile from Abesekeragama wewa and return to the latter tank where I had breakfast under a tree. In afternoon rode back to Wettiya by a footpath (2 to 3 miles) and thence along Liyangahatota road to Mamadola. My pony must have done 23 or 24 miles.

JANUARY 13th.

Govt. Holiday.

Drove to 3rd channel ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles) and thence walked along it to Ambalantota, a good 6 miles. A good deal of the track could be used for carts. After getting to the end of this channel, I followed an old disused channel for some distance and then cut across through the scrub to Chiwela, a tank $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile west of Ambalantota. *7. Walawe Roads.*

In afternoon election of headmen, the most important being the V.H. of Western Walakada, Magampattu where it is difficult to get a good man.

In evening to Hambantota (8 miles).

JANUARY 14th.

I forgot to mention that on January 12th I found a certain proportion of the fields under Siyabalakota wewa and Dickwewa under cultivation. This is interesting because whenever I ask villagers in East Giruwa pattu whether they get crops under village tanks they always say "We haven't had a crop for 10 or 12 years". This has been one of the driest of dry years, and here are two village tanks in the usual East Giruwa chena country with crops under them. It is true that there was no cultivation under the other two tanks in the neighbourhood but obviously statements as to complete failure of crops under village tanks must be received with caution. *8. Cultivation under village tanks.*

LEONARD WOOLF

JANUARY 15th

9 *Salt manu-
facture*

I was rather doubtful of a statement of the Provincial Engineer that pure sea water evaporated in cement pans produce salt in the same way as water introduced into lewayas. I thought it possible that properties in the mud of the lewaya had some action in the formation of salt crystals. I accordingly filled three buckets (1) one with pure sea water, (2) one with an equal quantity of sea water on about 6 inches of lewaya soil and (3) one with an equal quantity of mixed rain and sea water on lewaya soil. Salt formed in each bucket and the water completely evaporated after about a month. There appears to be practically no difference in the salt formed in (1) and (2), but the formation in (3) is not nearly as good.

JANUARY 16th

Routine Heavy rain all today just as a salt collection in the Maha Lewaya is expected.

JANUARY 17th

Sunday

JANUARY 18th

10 *The Mu-
dalyar of
East Giruwa
Pattu*

I have been obliged to report the Mudalyar of East Giruwa Pattu to the Government Agent and I have recommended that he be called upon to resign. My reasons are repeated cases of neglect of duty. He does not attend to papers or orders. I have warned him and then started to accumulate cases against him which was not difficult. He has been so frequently warned in the past that he pays no attention to warnings now I think. There is, I consider, a strong case against him but very often it is not possible actually to charge a man with what is really the strongest part of one's case because the results appear so remote. For instance, when a headman is slack in this way the headmen under him become slack and the sins of the headmen are frequently and unfortunately necessarily visited upon the villages, e.g. in East Giruwa pattu last year one vidane arachchi failed to send in his list of chena applications by the

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due date — consequently in that VA's division no chena permits were issued. The result is that a villager in that division must either lose all opportunity of a chena crop or chena illicitly and pay double rent. Of course, one is told at once that the villagers did not apply in time: but it is the V.A. who knows the date by which applications should be in and if he does his work properly the villager will apply in time. It is a case of 'the house that jack built'. The villager does not apply because the V.A. is slack and the V.A. is slack because the Mudaliyar is slack.

JANUARY 19th.

Routine.

JANUARY, 20th.

Routine.

Some time ago the Forest Ranger reported that some people from the Eastern Province who had licences to capture buffaloes there had entered the game sanctuary and captured 2 or more there. One was found dead and there were marks where the others had been tied. There was no evidence forthcoming. One watcher who should have been at his post in the neighbourhood was absent without leave. I suspended him and wired to the GA, EP the name of one man who was said to have done it, by some villagers at Kumana. I now hear that the guilty persons have confessed and a buffalo is under seizure. I have written to the GA. to have them sent up here.

11. *Illicit capture of Buffaloes in the Game Sanctuary.*

The Postmaster General arrived here in the evening.

JANUARY 21st.

Inspected Post Office with P.M.G. in morning. It is proposed to enlarge it.

12. *Shooting-Party.*

I had been informed that Count Axel Blixen, cousin of H.M. the Queen would arrive today for a shooting expedition and that I was to afford them every facility. Their shikari wanted to know whether they might shoot on the Resident Sportsmen's reserve. I wired for instructions and have been

LEONARD WOOLF

informed that permission should be granted as a special case. They arrived at 5 p m and I waited on them they leave for Weligatta tomorrow morning

JANUARY 22nd

Government Holiday

JANUARY 23rd

13 Salt
removal

I received tenders today for the removal of 45000 cwts. of salt from Bundala Lewaya (15000 cwts a month) The lowest tender was Rs 2 70 per ton I have removed 17000 cwts by hiring carts at the rate of 9000 cwts a month for just under Rs 1 84 per ton The contractor's price has only come down 10 cents a ton in two months That the price remains so high I attribute to two reasons

(1) We gave way at Palatupana and accepted a tender

(2) The contractors know that I will exact the penalty for failure to complete the contract in time (Strictness is absolutely necessary in these cases e g I am removing 9000 cwts a month for Rs 1 83 per ton but suppose the Controller of Revenue considers it necessary to remove 1500 cwts a month and a contract to remove that quantity is entered into the rate being Rs 2 70 if the contractor takes $1\frac{1}{2}$ months to remove the 15000 cwts and no penalty is exacted, Government has merely thrown away Rs 650)

JANUARY 24th

Sunday

14 Bundala

Rode to Bundala by the old road on circuit to the Game Sanctuary The ten new stores at Bundala have been completed. The villagers wanted me to shoot a wild buffalo which has attached itself to the village herd they said it was dangerous It is in the middle of the village, a few 100 yards from the circuit bungalow, and allowed me to ride up to within 25 yards of it! Later the P O told me that it is not in the least dangerous. I suggest the villagers wanted a little excitement to entertain a dull Sunday afternoon

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JANUARY 25th.

To Kirinda: exemptions &c.

JANUARY 26th:

Rode to the upper Palatupana road and then walked through Nimalewa wewa as I was told it was a good place for deer. Saw nothing but a wild buffalo. Then rode on to Palatupana and held an enquiry into the theft of a drift log.

15. *Palatupana.*

JANUARY 27th.

Walked and rode to Vilapala for breakfast, saw no deer. Went with the Forest Ranger through the jungle to Vilapalawewagala which is a famous place for sambhur. Got close up to one but the jungle was so thick that it was impossible to see him. We only saw one other. In afternoon rode on to within a mile from Yala. On the way we climbed the rock which looks out over Putanagala : it is very steep bare rock but there are droppings of elephant and buffalo on the top, they climb up in search of water. Fine water holes here, all of which could be improved with a little expenditure. There must have been a large vihare or dagoba here. Walked the last mile into Yala through jungle but only saw one small herd of spotted deer. Went out north of Yala in the evening but saw no deer, only pig. We got close up to a fine elephant a tusker, fading in the dusk.

16. *Vilapala & Yala.*

JANUARY 28th.

Started early across the river into the Game Sanctuary. Large herds of deer with very fine heads among them in all the open spaces and any number of buffalo. At Uda Potana we came across the solitary bull who charged Mr. Schrader's party last year. He would not get out of our way (though I don't think he quite liked the horses) so we got out of his.

17. *The Game Sanctuary.*

Saw one magnificent sambhur as big as a small buffalo. Reached Pahala Potana (12 miles) where we were to camp, well ahead of the carts. Went out to a small tank (I think it is marked on the maps as Nabadagas wewa) the bund of which

LEONARD WOOLF

is to be repaired this year. Lay in the grass for a time watching a fine herd of 70 or 80 deer about 60 yards off grazing under the trees. Even when we got up and showed ourselves they only ran off into the edge of the jungle and stood there watching us. The great want in this Sanctuary is water in the dry season. It is then that the tanks and water holes which lie towards the centre of the Sanctuary in the open spaces which the deer love gives out. The south-west wind is blowing off the sea at that time it is only the elephants who remember where the rivers lie and who make off at once to the water. The other animals, the buffalo and deer, have forgotten the rivers, they smell the water in the wind off the sea and they wander about snuffing the air for days, their heads always turned towards the sea. Some of them die of thirst and exhaustion before they wander to the rivers. Mr. Engelbrecht tells me that sometimes at this time of the year the deer find a small water hole in which the water has got so low that they cannot get down to it and will wander round and round it for days perpetually snuffing the air.

JANUARY 29th.

38 *Kumana* Rode to Kumana and back (20 miles), saw plenty of buffalo and a fair number of deer. Also inspected the place where the people from the Eastern Province had captured the buffaloes.

JANUARY 30th

19 *Yala an
Elephant
fight* Rode back to Yala in morning. In evening went north through the jungle and came on two elephants fighting. They charged one another and the shock appeared to be tremendous when their heads met. Then they stood with heads close together playing a sort of jujitsu with their trunks until at last one hit the other a tremendous blow on the ribs with his trunk. Then they backed away from one another and charged again. At one moment we had to fly as one of them broke away and came through the jungle apparently at us. We left them still fighting. Saw one herd of deer at which I had several shots and hit one but it was too late to follow it up.

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JANUARY 31st.

Sunday.

I was to go on to Talgasmankada today but cannot as the 20. *Deer.*
Count's party are camped there. Went out and followed up
last night's wounded deer and found it dead. Saw one other
herd, but the deer are very scarce here. The F.R. says the
jungle is too thick and that they have gone north to the high
ground.

In evening went out again, saw one or two spotted deer
and missed a tremendous sambhur on the seashore.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A.

Miles travelled in month	170
Travelling Vote ...	Rs. 1200/-
Balance	1113.80

FEBRUARY 1909

FEBRUARY 1st.

To Talgasmankada for breakfast on foot and in afternoon
round the bend of the river to Katagomuwa by game tracks,
over 30 miles, I should think. Saw a certain amount of deer
but they are very shy and the jungle so thick that it is extremely
difficult to get near them. At one place heard extraordinary
noises which the Forest Ranger took to be a bear. We crept
up to the place and saw a large crocodile in a pool. I shot him
and when he was dragged out found he had no teeth (owing to
old age) and that he had a large tortoise stuck in his throat.
He must have caught it, and having no teeth to smash the
shell, the tortoise slipped into his throat and the noises we
heard were his efforts to eject it.

1. *Talagas-
mankada
Deer.*

2. *An aged
crocodile.*

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FEBRUARY 2nd

3 *Katagomu
wa and
Situlpahuwa*

Out with the Forest Ranger all the morning and again in the evening. In the afternoon rode to Situlpahuwa and back (6 miles). There are many ruins of a vihara, dagoba &c and a restored Buddha. It is still I believe visited by those who seek to acquire merit.

FEBRUARY 3rd

4 *Tissa*

Rode to Tissa in morning (14 miles). Exemptions &c in afternoon. In the evening Count Blixen (who had been unable owing to illness to accompany the remainder of his party) arrived with Mr Hagenbeck. Owing to some misunderstanding they do not know where they are to meet the others, so we sent out messengers in various directions to try to find them.

FEBRUARY 4th

5 *Count
Blixen*

I was to return to Hambantota today but as Count Blixen has not yet received news and Mr Hagenbeck may have to return to Colombo I am remaining here so that if necessary I can take Count Blixen to his party.

Inspected an encroachment in the Tissa Bazaar, one of those questions which can be dug out of any Kachcheri and which with infinite involutions drag on for years. Accompanied Count Blixen to Yodawewa to shoot crocodiles.

At 3 o'clock one of the messengers arrived with a note saying that Count Frijs would be at Palatupana in the evening. We started at 3.45 by motor car and got right through to Palatupana bungalow in it, which speaks volumes for the car and the drivers. Left Count Blixen there and motored straight back to Hambantota (46 miles in all).

FEBRUARY 5th

6. *Tissa
encroachment*

The encroachment question which is referred to above is most interesting. It has been going on for 24 years at least. About 300 acres of land were sold by Government under Sir

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Henry Ward's minute to a Mr. Blatherwick (in 1880) who transferred it before the 4 instalments had been paid to one Ponnasami. Ponnasami then attempted to avoid payment: however after a great deal of pressure he was induced to pay up for a total acreage of 320 acres 1 rood 7 perches. This was in 1889. When the title plan had to be prepared it was found that several reservations had to be made which reduced the area eventually to 301 acres 1 rood 38 perches. Ponnasami had therefore paid for 18 acres 3 roods 9 perches more than were to be given to him and matters were complicated by the fact that he was actually in possession of some of these 18 acres. It took 5 years to prepare the title plan and two more to deliver the Crown Grant to Ponnasami. This was in 1896, 16 years after the sale and 12 after the actual trouble began: the question of compensation and encroachment was still unsettled. At some period, the exact date of which I have not yet ascertained, Ponnasami transferred his land to K. Sinnatampi. Negotiations went on with Sinnatampi regarding compensation and after his death with the administrators of his estate. Indeed in 1904 the administration actually agreed to accept Rs. 285/11 as compensation but this was apparently subsequently repudiated by him. I am now dealing with S. Kanakarajah the son of K. Sinnatampi. My view is that he is not entitled to any compensation at all. The only person entitled to compensation was Ponnasami who paid money for land never given to him; his heirs—and I cannot find that he has any—would now be entitled to it. The only title which Ponnasami could transfer was the title to the land shown in the Crown title deed and it is that land which Sinnatampi purchased from him. So much for the compensation. As regards the encroachments they consist of 17 boutiques on land paid for by Ponnasami but excluded from his deed. Kanakarajah is now in possession and actually pays rent for 9 of them. The fairest settlement will be for Government to lease him the ground on which these boutiques stand on a T.O. on condition that he withdraws all claims to compensation. Verbally he agreed to do this and I have now asked him to put it in writing.

LEONARD WOOLF

FEBRUARY 6th.

Routine.

FEBRUARY 7th.

Sunday and 10 hours of work clearing off the arrears which always accumulate after circuits.

FEBRUARY 8 - 10.

Routine and answering Mr. W. L. Strange's questions on Irrigation.

FEBRUARY 11th - 14th.

Down with fever which lasted without intermission for 4 days.

FEBRUARY 15th & 16th.

Able to work in the bungalow.

FEBRUARY 17th.

7. *Hospital for Tissa.*

I was directed to choose a site for a new and larger hospital at Hambantota. In reply I suggested that the present Hambantota Hospital should be left as it is and a new hospital built at Tissa. I am glad to see that the G.A. and P.E. support this. It was Mr. Schrader who originally last year raised the question of a hospital for Tissa. The P.E. suggests a site near the bridge across the Kirindi Oya but I am afraid this is unsuitable as there is frequently no water in the river. I should prefer a site near Tissa tank.

FEBRUARY 18th.

8. *Rinderpest.*

Three cases of cattle disease in the town. Those three bulls had returned from Koslanda and had been turned loose on the Maha Lewaya with nearly 250 others. I have isolated the sick and rode down to the Maha Lewaya in the evening and had all the cattle there rounded up, counted and put in charge of watchers who have orders to see that none are removed and no other cattle are brought to the lewaya.

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FEBRUARY 19th.

One of the sick bulls died and I got Mr. Engelbrecht who was an inoculator for rinderpest in South Africa to hold a postmortem. He pronounces it to be rinderpest. Rode to Maha Lewaya in evening : no fresh cases.

FEBRUARY 20th.

A meeting of the District Schools Committee in the morning. Decided to open the following new schools this year :

9. *District
Schools
Committee
Meeting.*

1. Moderawanna.
2. Middeniya.
3. Uswewa.
4. Kirinda.
5. Bundala.
6. Pallemalala.

Also to rebuild Kirama School.

Rode round Maha Lewaya in evening : no fresh cases.

FEBRUARY 21st.

Sunday.

FEBRUARY 22nd.

Stock Inspector arrived, and went round the place with him. He approves of the measures taken and state it is rinderpest. He has brought lymph for inoculation. Government charges Rs. 1 for each head of cattle inoculated. This is a great mistake in out of the way places like Hambantota at the beginning of an outbreak. The people are ignorant and hopelessly conservative. They positively hate anything new. They are therefore prejudiced against inoculation.

10. *Rinder-
pest and
Inoculation.*

Now anyone who has had any experience with this class of native knows that the one thing which in such a case would finally determine him not to allow inoculation is for him to find that he has to pay one cent for it. If you tell him you will do it for nothing, though he disapproves of it, he may consent just in order to get something done for nothing. As it is most important to stop the disease at once and inoculation is the only sure way, I told the carters that I would pay for the

inoculation of any contact now on the lewaya. I think Government ought to provide this because the importance of stamping out the disease is not alone for the individual owners or even the owners in the district but it seriously affects the rice transport to estates at Koslanda and Moneragala.

FEBRUARY 23rd.

Four more cases of cattle disease among the contacts on the Maha Lewaya. A long civil case in Court.

FEBRUARY 24th.

Government Holiday.

11. *Surprise visit to Salt Stores.*

Surprise visit to salt store here and verified weighing of a cart from Bundala. I think the weighing at the store here is now accurate but it still appears to be inaccurate at Bundala.

12. *Rinderpest Inoculation.*

Induced a carter to have his bull inoculated as an experiment. The experiment came off this morning and now that they see how simple the process is I think they will have the other bulls inoculated.

Mr. Strange, the Irrigation adviser, arrived and I had three hours' interview with him.

FEBRUARY 25th.

Routine and visited Maha Lewaya where the salt has begun to form. I am glad to say that this year there are signs that it will form at Koholankala too.

FEBRUARY 26th.

Routine.

FEBRUARY 27th.

13. *Rinderpest Out-break*

One more case of rinderpest. Besides isolating the sick cattle and the 230 on the Maha Lewaya, I also isolated in a quite separate place the bulls who had returned from Koslanda with the first 3 which fell ill. It was very lucky that this was done because all 8 cases have occurred among those bulls. It had 11 of them inoculated on the 24th. The fresh case is among

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the uninoculated ones. It looks now as if the outbreak has been successfully confined to these 24 bulls which came from Koslanda. The return up to date is

- 5 deaths
- 2 recoveries still isolated
- 1 under treatment
- 11 inoculated contacts isolated
- 5 uninoculated contacts isolated
- 24 bulls which returned from Koslanda.

In addition there are 230 heads of cattle quarantined and under guard as contacts on the Maha Lewaya.

Had another long interview with Mr. Strange. A heavy shower of rain today : it always rains on the day on which I sign the notices fixing a salt collection. Once more the formation has been destroyed.

FEBRUARY 28th.

Sunday.

Wrote a long report to Government Agent on the present system of selling salt at Kirinda. Delmege Forsyth want to get the monopoly of this salt as it is very cheap. Government had laid down that they are to be given no monopoly : the difficulty is that the stock in store was bought out and now purchasers buy in advance before the salt is removed into the store from the lewaya. My orders are to inform anyone on application what quantity will be available for sale 3 months hence. Now in the first place it is extremely difficult to do this : transport at all times is difficult and during the dry weather when there is no pasture or water has to stop altogether. Also when Delmege Forsyth proceeded to ask me what quantity I would have available in three months time, I gave them the total estimated quantity but of course if this is done a big firm can practically obtain a monopoly.

14. *Kirinda Salt.*

The question is why should they not be given one, provided that it does no harm to the country and that they make it worth while to Government. I do not think personally that anyone could really complain if this salt were all sold to Delmege

Forsyth. It would not harm anyone in the Hambantota District though it would prevent the Galle traders competing with the Company. I understand that the company are pledged not to put up the price of salt so that the absence of competition would not entail hardship. Once that is ascertained, then the whole question should be treated purely as a matter of business and it is the commonest occurrence in business to sell cheaper to the purchaser in large quantities. I believe the company is most anxious to obtain the monopoly of this salt. I should therefore go to them and say "I cannot give you a monopoly of this salt unless you buy the whole quantity as it stands", i.e. I would offer to sell them the total quantity of salt now lying on the Palatupana Lewaya at Rs. 2.55 per cwt. allowing them a deduction of Rs. 170 per ton which is what it costs Government to remove it to Kirinda now. They would have to take over and pay for all the salt as it stands now on the lewaya and I would shut up the Kirinda stores until they had removed it: the stores might meanwhile be lent to the company. Government besides getting rid of 90000 or 100000 cwts. of salt lying in a very awkward place would be saved the cost of the Kirinda staff and watchers' at the lewaya.

If this arrangement is out of the question, and a monopoly is not desirable, then the salt should be sold in advance, the first purchaser being entitled to delivery of the salt first received into store and so on. No one purchaser should be allowed to book more than 20000 cwts. in any one month (this prevents a monopoly by a big firm) and no fixed date of delivery should be given by Government to purchasers. It is quite possible to give them sufficient notice to allow of them making arrangements to take delivery but it is not possible accurately to say 3 months ahead what quantity will be available.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A.

Miles travelled	96
Travelling Vote	Rs. 1200
Balance	Rs. 1001.18

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

MARCH 1909

MARCH 1st.

Routine.

Visited Maha Lewaya : still no fresh cases of rinderpest.

MARCH 2nd.

A case of suspected rinderpest reported from Kirinda. Sent off Stock Inspector there at once with directions to send back a messenger as soon as he has examined the case to inform me whether it is rinderpest. If it is I shall have to try to get to Kirinda and back tomorrow. It is most disappointing if this really is rinderpest : for it must mean that the elaborate arrangements here (which appear to have successfully stopped the spread of the disease in Hambantota itself, swarming as it does with cattle) have broken down. I do not see why Koslanda bulls should go to Kirinda at all and therefore the infection must have been carried from Hambantota. If it is rinderpest, I expect to find that the watchers at the lewaya have allowed bulls to be taken from there.

1. *Suspected rinderpest at Kirinda.*

MARCH 3rd.

I was woken up at 3 a.m. by the Stock Inspector's messenger. My wrath was appeased by learning that it is not rinderpest. I heard today that all the contractors who are removing salt from Palatupana on Government account at Rs. 1.70 per ton had left the lewaya. This was a strike to force my hand and make me pay Rs. 2 per ton. In the evening I got hold of the previous contractor and I was determined that he should take another contract. Eventually with great difficulty and a certain amount of pressure I induced him to enter into a contract to remove 10000 cwts. a month until all the salt on this side of the lewaya is removed. As he will probably pay the carters about Rs. 1.50 a ton, I feel that I have scored. He undertakes with me to do it at Rs. 1.80 per ton which is the old rate.

2. *Difficulties of salt transport.*

LEONARD WOOLF

MARCH 4th

3. *Rinder-
pest*

Another case of rinderpest but again out of the isolated contacts. There are now only 4 isolated contacts left. In the evening I went down to the Maha Lewaya and released the 230 bulls there. I have had them in quarantine since February 18th and the Stock Inspector considered it safe to let them go yesterday but I thought I would keep them an extra day. Great rejoicing among the carters who told me that in future they would obey any order I gave them, so I told them they had better prove what they said by going away and removing salt for two months from Bundala. 32 carts immediately left for Bundala, at least so they said.

MARCH 5th.

Drove to Tangalla 26 miles. Inspected town.

MARCH 6th.

4. *Tangalla
Agricultural
Society.*

Meeting of Tangalla Agricultural Society. Settled what exhibits should be sent to the Galle show. Also had Sub Committee appointed to collect information &c. with regard to the want of buffaloes and the possibility of advancing loans to cultivators.

5. *District
Road
Committee.*

A meeting of the DRC in the afternoon which lasted three hours. Voted the estimates for 1909. There is no good gravel obtainable for roads in this District and the SMR is of opinion that the money voted yearly for gravel is wasted. We decided to try the experiment of not voting anything for gravel for the Wiraketiya - Ranna and Wiraketiya - Tangalla Roads. The money saved Rs. 1100 is to be spent on improving the Dammulla - Wiraketiya Road. Only Rs. 280 could be voted for the Tissa Roads and nothing for the Wiraketiya-Gonadeniya Road.

MARCH 7th.

To Galle on 3 days leave to see a doctor.

MARCH 8th.

To Colombo and by the afternoon train back to Matara.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

MARCH 9th.

Drove to Tangalla in the morning, and on to Kahawatta in the afternoon (about 30 miles). Mr. Chambers was acting for me and I helped him to finish exemptions.

MARCH 10th.

Inspections and inquiries in Belyatta and Kahawatta. To Moderawana and back in evening.

MARCH 11th.

Drove to Wiraketiya inspecting tanks at Dammulla and Beligala and Pallatara School. Also went up to the Mulkirigala Vihare. Enquiry into Government petition at Weeraketiya.

MARCH 12th.

Walked over the paddy fields and a mile along the Wiraketiya Gonadeniya Road. The VC has voted Rs. 3000 towards this work : the estimate is Rs. 7600 for the whole length of the road.

Exemptions &c. in afternoon.

MARCH 13th.

Drove to Walasmulla.

400 persons claiming exemption dealt with in afternoon.

In evening rode to Bowela where a new Government School has just been opened.

MARCH 14th, SUNDAY.

Enquiries &c. The settlement officers were here.

Received news of an outbreak of rinderpest at Bundala and sent off a wire for the stock inspector. I am not returning to Hambantota as I made all arrangements before I left for the Salt Superintendent and native writer to take the necessary steps should the disease break out again.

6. *Reported rinderpest at Bundala.*

MARCH 15th.

To Kirama. Inspected on the way Horewela Buddhist School. This is a public vernacular school and the children seem to be very well taught. Also inspected the Kirama Govern-

7. *Schools.*

ment School which is to be rebuilt; the schoolmaster wants it to be put at Walgammulla which is 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles nearer Katuwana. Exemptions and inquiries in the afternoon.

In the evening rode to Warapitiya round the Kirama tank.

MARCH 16th.

8. *Kirama
School
Talawatta „
Katuwana. „*

Drove to Katuwana and inspected sites at Walgammulla for the Government School. On reconsideration I am convinced that the right place for this school is Warapitiya. If the school is placed there, nearly every village in the Kirama division will be served by a school.

Rode from Katuwana to Talawatta and back about 4 miles. Here there is a Government School, a most unsophisticated place at the foot of the hills which divide this district from Sabaragamuwa.

Inspected Katuwana Government School and made the schoolmaster give a lesson in general knowledge. I chose the subject which was "the sea" and he really gave a most eloquent and instructive lesson.

The afternoon and evening occupied with exemption and enquiries.

MARCH 17th.

9. *Jak trees
in West and
East Giruwa
Pattus.*

Drove to Talawa. I stopped at Welipitiya 4 miles from Katuwana and rode about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles along a Gansabhawa path which is said to have been cleared and improved. This path goes through Ulahitiyawa into the West Giruwa pattu. This is a most wonderful country for jak trees. I have nowhere else seen them grow to such a size. Mr. Wait suggested to me that the Forest Department should plant up a large tract of land in this part of the country with jak. It is well worth consideration as besides the ultimate value of the wood, there is little doubt that the produce of a jak plantation could be sold by Government yearly. Inspected the site for the new school at Middeniya.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

Inspected school at Talawa and held exemptions, V.C. Committee elections and inquiries.

MARCH 18th.

Rode to Okandayaya where a site for a well is to be decided upon. Okandayaya is about 5 miles by Gansabhawa paths from Talawa. Thence a good four miles along a most awkward path to Gonadeniya. Part of the way is through the Gonadeniya forest where the Gonadeniya ara rises. It is curious in this parched and waterless country to find this spring welling up and forming a stream which practically never fails. I imagine that there must be an underground spring or stream which is the cause both of this spring and of the smaller one at Middeniya : the Mudaliyar says that one can see a sort of groove or channel running from Middeniya to the Gonadeniya spring. If so one ought to be able to tap it in other villages for wells. At Gonadeniya I inspected the small Government School and then rode back to Talawa via Debbokawa about 5 miles.

10. *Okandayaya.*

11. *Gonadeniya ara and springs.*

In evening walked out to the two Kariyamaditta village tanks with the I.S.I. These small village tanks are not at all satisfactory.

I intended to try a new method with regard to salt now that stores have been put up at Bundala lewaya, i.e. to introduce the system of weighing the salt collected as soon as possible after collection at the lewaya. I would weigh all salt collected as soon after collection as possible into heaps of say 500 bags each. These heaps would be numbered. After a sufficient interval say 6 months I would weigh these heaps into the lewaya store. The number of bags and the weight of salt in each store at the lewaya would be known and the storekeeper would be responsible for the weight. When the salt was transported from the lewaya stores to the Hambantota stores the salt would again be weighed. The object of this system is to have an ascertained weight from the earliest possible moment. At present, until the salt is transported to the Hambantota stores it remains unweighed, i.e. we have often for two or three

12. *Weighing versus estimating weight of salt.*

years a quantity estimated at 100,000 cwts. lying at the lewaya unweighed. My point is that as this salt is not weighed there is absolutely no check on the officers of the department during that period, and that as there is no check, dishonesty is easy. But the Government Agent has just ordered me to suspend action and the old system is to continue except that the bags are to have leaden seals on those and that this unweighed quantity of salt is to be put into stores at the lewaya instead of being kept in heaps. The G.A. contrasts his experience with my inexperience and foretells 'insurmountable' difficulties if my scheme were tried (though he agrees with my view 'in theory'). The only difficulties he actually details are that if the salt is weighed immediately after collection, we shall not know what the wastage ought to be for the first few months. But it is precisely that wastage which I want investigated and it can only be investigated by weighing the salt. No one, it is true, now knows what it should be, and no one has to account for it because no one weighs the salt at the lewaya—and it is just because no one has to account for wastage that it becomes so easy for anyone to practise dishonesty. I find it difficult to see the advantages of a system by which a large quantity of salt is kept unweighed for years and no one is responsible for the wastage or the weight and therefore the quantity (because no one knows what the wastage or weight or quantity is) over a system by which the weight is ascertained by weighing at each stage and thereby later obtained for fixing what a fair wastage should be. The G.A. also wants me to introduce a system of making all bags of a uniform weight of $169\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. *after receipt* at the Hambantota stores. I cannot see the slightest value in doing this and as it means the opening of every bag received into the store and the manipulation of weights (the salt being received on the G.A.'s system from the unweighed salt at the lewaya) it would afford an admirable opportunity for dishonesty and involve an enormous waste of time.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

MARCH 19th.

I know the road from Talawa to Angunakolapelessa so I might as well go a round through Uswewa in order to see a new piece of country. It turned out to be a larger and hotter ride than I imagined most of it through that most depressing lantana chena land of East Giruwa pattu which seems to take up and retain the heat in order to pour it out with redoubled force upon the unhappy traveller. I started on the Gansabhawa path to Dabarella and then by Kiwala wewa a poor tank to Kandaketiya. Here or just past it is a fine piece of forest showing what magnificent country this must have been before chenas ruined it. At Uswewa about 5 miles I inspected Uswewa maha wewa but it is indistinguishable from the surrounding jungle. 2 miles on decided on the site of the new Government School. Just through the jungle is Metigatwala wewa, a really magnificent village tank with a bund as good as many a major work can boast. There are 45 amunams under this tank and I believe the whole extent belongs to Mulkirigala Vihare. The Kachchigal ara flows into it and there is a scheme (which I wrote about last month) of cutting a channel from this tank to Dickwewa and so to get Kachchigal ara water to that tank and the two Abesekaragama tanks. There has been no cultivation this year under Metigatwala wewa though there is a good deal of water in it. I shall put a cement pipe sluice into this tank as they will then be able to get the water out without cutting the bund. From Metigatwala wewa rode to Dickwewa ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles) and Abesekaragama (1 mile) there doubled back through Gopelessa to Angunakolapelessa (4 miles) Gopelessa or Bopelessa is an interesting village. It too has a wonderfully good village tank but no water. The people came in a body to me and said they only wanted one thing and that was water to drink. They wanted a well. There is however another tank here called Mahajandura the bund of which is badly breached. The people want to restore it as the Kachchigal ara flows through it: if they do they say they do not want a well.

13. *Talawa to Uswewa.*

14. *Metigatwala wewa.*

15. *Gopelessa*

LEONARD WOOLF -

16 *Mulana
lands*

Afternoon exemptions and inspected the Angunakolapelessa school. In the evening I walked to Mulana wewa (2½ miles) and then a mile over the fields and through a piece of forest to the Kachchugal ara and end of the Walawe main channel. There is a long-standing question which wants settling here. The Mulana lands used to get water from the Kachchugal ara by building a dam across it at a point below where the Walawe main channel falls into it. Accordingly they were on the specification. But this dam caused the flooding of other water rate paying fields. Consequently the Mulana people are now not allowed to build the dam and do not pay water rate. They however want to pay water rate and to get water. The I E I believe, thinks it not possible to give them water, however they have a scheme by which they think it possible so I went to the place and they showed it to me. (N.B. To speak to I E. on the subject)

MARCH 20th

17 *Anguna-
kolapelessa
to Ranna.*

Rode to Ranna by the Gansabhawa road which is about 6 miles. Here again is one small piece of forest

Exemptions and election of the Patabendi Arachchi of Mawella in place of the last man who has been made Maha Vidane. Three factions in this village of which one is the Maha Vidane's and I chose his brother to be Patabendige Arachchi.

18 *Parangi*

In evening drove to Tangalla 8 miles. Inspected Tangalla hospital. There ought to be a parangi ward in this hospital. There is a tremendous amount of parangi in West Giruwa pattu to judge from exemptions.

MARCH 21st. SUNDAY.

At Tangalla.

MARCH 22nd.

19 *The
Maha harvest
in West
Giruwa Pattu.*

Drove to Ambalantota 18 miles in the early morning. West Giruwa pattu must have had a wonderfully good maha crop this year. Throughout this circuit nearly every field in West Giruwa Pattu I have seen under paddy and really good crops.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

There is an enormous strength of green in the Nalagana fields, the fields under the Kirama scheme were nearly all successful. A large extent of the Tangalla fields cultivated, the whole stretch of fields under Katchaduwa tank under crop, and the same with most of the Urubokka fields round Ranna. But the sight which pleased me most was to see nearly the whole extent of fields under Nctolpitiya wewa cultivated. This is the last tank under the Mandaduwa channel and the complaints have been many that the owners do not get water. I am sure that it was largely due to the Vel Vidanes not doing their work properly and I warned them all that they would get no Huwandiram this year, if they did not attend to distribution. All the fields under Mandaduwa this maha have, I believe, been cultivated and received water.

At Ambalantota exemptions enquiries and selection of headmen. Rode into Hambantota in the evening 8 miles.

MARCH 23rd.

Routine.

The Salt Superintendent and Mr. Usuf, Native Writer, have done good work looking after the rinderpest while I was away. There are no cases now in the district. The outbreak at Bundala turned out to be tick fever.

20. *No rinderpest in the district.*

MARCH 24th AND 25th.

Routine Kachcheri and Court.

MARCH 26th.

Routine. The Mudaliyar of Magampattu reports an outbreak of rinderpest at Udamalala, 6 miles from here, among buffaloes. 5 cases and 3 deaths. 150 contacts. I saw him in the evening and gave him instructions : this is a most awkward place in which to deal with an outbreak.

21. *Fresh outbreak of rinderpest.*

MARCH 27th.

Two civil cases in the Court.

LEONARD WOOLF

centres has there been a case among cattle other than contacts seized and isolated when the disease broke out. This I think shows that the isolation has so far been effective.

APRIL 4th.

3. *Rinderpest*

Drove to Andella and rode from there to Tissa inspecting the Udamalala isolated cattle and the Tissa cattle isolated at Uduwila and the rubber estate. 3 more cases at Udamalala *among contacts : this is the place which I am most afraid of* as there are 200 contacts and no food or water. In the evening I rode back to Weligatta and drove from there to Hambantota, 40 miles in all. On the way met the stock inspector and Pattu Mudaliyar who had been to Bundala and Udamalala.

APRIL 5th, 6th and 7th.

Routine.

APRIL 8th.

To Tangalla.

APRIL 9th.

4. *Mr. Woolf goes on leave and hands over to Mr. Chambers.*

Handed over to Mr. Chambers preparatory to going on a month's leave.

MAY 1909

MAY 14th.

Arrived Tangalla and took over from Mr. Chambers. The Government Agent arrived in evening.

5. *Rinderpest.* MAY 15th.

Rode and drove to Puwakdandawa where there has been a case of suspected rinderpest. Saw that contacts are being properly isolated.

When I left Hambantota there had been between 60 and 70 cases of rinderpest all in Magampattu. The total has risen to over 1000 and it is creeping down the main road towards

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

West Giruwa Pattu. The only thing to do now is to try to stop it at the Urubokka river and so to save West Giruwa Pattu and the Matara District. I am wiring to the I.G.P. for about 30 police with which force I shall patrol the Urubokka river while the headmen will drive all cattle back from both sides of the river for a mile thus having a two mile belt with no cattle in it.

In the afternoon attended the G.A. when he renewed the headmen's acts. It took about 6 hours.

MAY 16th, SUNDAY.

Much tappal in morning. In evening drove out to Meda-ketigoda where rinderpest was reported. Some clear cases here, buffaloes from Mamadola. I ordered the Mudaliyar to take steps to have all cattle tethered in the infected area. I am also closing the roads to cart traffic : also issuing notices stopping all cart traffic to the approaching Tissa festival and pilgrimage.

6. *Meda-ketigoda.*

MAY 17th.

Drove in early morning to Lunama 12 miles and from there rode to Ambalantota 6 miles inspecting segregation camps and rinderpest contacts on the way.

In afternoon saw the Mudaliyar East Giruwa Pattu re rinderpest precautions and then rode into Hambantota 8 miles in the evening.

MAY 18th.

Worked for over 12 hours at papers in the Kachcheri and still have about 24 hours work of arrears left.

MAY 19th.

Another 13 hours day. Much talking occasioned by my closing the Tangalla-Hambantota road and my refusing to allow any carts to go through to Matara on any pretext whatsoever. The Conservator of Forests arrived here from the Game Sanctuary : he reports no rinderpest there. I hear that he is to look

7. *Closing of roads.*

LEONARD WOOLF

into the question of jak plantations in the Katuwana and Mid-deniya District mentioned in my previous diary

MAY 20th

8. *Tissa*

Started 6 a m for Tissa on rinderpest inspection Mr Engelbrecht met me at Maha Lewaya and shot a diseased buffalo which cannot be caught Drove on to Koholankala and shot three more buffaloes Inspected camps at Koholankala, Udamalala, Pallemalala and Weligatta

It is astonishing to drive along these roads now one does not see a buffalo or stray cow where previously one saw nothing but cattle grazing in the scrub Practically all the buffaloes are dead Rode from Andella to Tissa past the Tissa rinderpest camp on the river bank These are pestilential places the buffaloes dying like flies, the ground so hard that it takes hours to dig a grave properly with the result that the smell and flies are abominable Got into Tissa at 12 30

9. *Buffaloes*

Worked at papers in afternoon At 4 30 Muhandiram and Mudaliyar came to discuss what should be done with the Tissa buffaloes A most difficult question as the mudding is practically over and the buffaloes are accustomed after it to make their way to the game reserve This must be stopped at all costs but the difficulty is to find a place to send them to At least after much thought we agreed at 8 p m to send three batches to three different places (1) about 400 to Bogahawewa, (2) 100 "clean" Situnamaluwa buffaloes to Henagahapu wewa, (3) 67 other "clean" buffaloes to Tanjanagram

MAY 21st

Rode out in morning round Tissa tank to satisfy myself that there is no straying of cattle or rinderpest there

10 *Proposed road*

Tappal and papers until 2 p m when I rode with Muhandiram to inspect the Ranakeliya camp and then down the proposed Ranakeliya vifa road towards Magama Got back about

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

7. The Muhandiram has really dealt very well with the rinderpest here.

MAY 22nd.

Rode to Bundala by the Yodawewa low level channel and then a jungle path of the existence of which I was before unaware. Inspected camps and arranged with Salt Superintendent about watchers. I had been told that there was a 'white' leopard haunting a village Patiraja where I had to visit a rinderpest camp; so arrived there at dusk to sit up for it. Found that the leopard had already been shot; so I had to sleep in the village it being too dark to get on through the jungle to Hambantota or return to the bungalow at Bundala. 11. *Bundala.*

MAY 23rd. SUNDAY.

Rode on to Hambantota and found piles of papers waiting for me.

MAY 24th.

Empire Day.

10 a.m. A feast to all inhabitants of Hambantota, consisting of curry and rice. Most successful, about 1,500 people coming to it, and as there is a great deal of want here now it was greatly appreciated I think. 2 p.m. Volunteer parade and salute of flag. 2.30 p.m. March past of school children and address. 3. p.m. to 6 p.m. Sports. 12. *Empire Day.*

MAY 25th.

Routine.

MAY 26th.

Moneragala planters have no rice they say because I have 'stopped cart traffic up the Tanamalwila road'. Abram Saibu supplies them from here and wires to them that I have stopped his carts and they wire to me : but Abram Saibu will not come to see me about it. Really no cart traffic has been stopped but 13. *Moneragala Planters.*

the bulls are all contacts and under observation I wire back to the planters 'send Abram Saibu's agent to see me' At last I got him up and gave him permits for 30 carts to leave yesterday and today But I shall now close this road it is too dangerous to allow infected bulls up near Lunagan Vihare and Bogahawewa where I have sent the Tissa buffaloes Now the planters are wiring to Government and I am called upon to state what steps have been taken and so on until one sits 13 or 14 hours in the office instead of getting about the infected areas making people do what, if one is not on the spot, no one will ever think for a moment of doing

14 *Hambantota*

I am having a bad time with the Hambantota carters They come in crowds besieging the Kachcheri, taking up hours out of the day They say they are starving and that they must be allowed to cart As soon as I am absolutely convinced that they really cannot hold out any longer, I shall start salt transport again from Bundala I think they are hard hit already and I must decide definitely tomorrow

MAY 27th

I finally decided to allow cart transport to Bundala to begin again but it is not safe to allow cart transport beyond Wirawila

MAY 28th

Routine

MAY 29th

15 *The West of Magam Pattu*

Started early on rinderpest inspection and rode through Mirijawela, Kariwila, Medagama, Walawe and Wenduruppa to Ambalantota doing from 15 to 20 miles I should think Breakfasted Ambalantota and in evening on my way back to Hambantota inspected some lots of land which still await settlement in Medagama

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

MAY 30th, SUNDAY.

I am glad to see that my suggestion to form an area of one mile in extent on each side of the Urubokka clear of cattle has been finally approved. In addition orders have now been issued to shoot all contacts and sick animals and all stray cattle. I have decided to visit West Giruwa Pattu at once although Mr. Hodson ASP has been appointed additional AGA.

MAY 31st.

To Tangalla in morning 26 miles. In evening rode round 16. *Tangalla*. Marakolliya, Palatuduwa, Walgametiya and Medaketiya. Shot a few stray cattle as examples. Ordered all people to tether or enclose cattle in talas.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A.

Miles travelled	140 (14th - 31st).
Amount of Vote	Rs. 1200.00
Spent up to date	<u>540.27</u>
Balance	<u><u>659.73</u></u>

JUNE 1909

JUNE 1st.

Started at 6 with Mr. Hodson for Getamane. At Sitinamaluwa it began to rain and continued all day. Rode through Kambussawela and Getamane shooting stray cattle here and there to enforce order and got back to Tangalla at 2 p.m. still in pouring rain about 25 miles round. 1. *Getamane*

JUNE 2nd.

Rode to Kahawatta, Hangamuwa and Dammulla all infected villages on the usual errand, 20 miles. Meanwhile Mr. Hodson did Marakolliya Palatuduwa round. In evening drove to Ranna (8 miles) where are Mr. Tyler ASP and the police. 2. *Dammulla and Hangamuwa.*

LEONARD WOOLF

JUNE 3rd.

3. *Ranna District.*

Rode with Mr. Tyler to Kahandawa, Wellegoda, Kahandamodara shooting certain number of stray cattle. There is no doubt that this cattle shooting has a tremendous effect and the people where it is begun are already starting to make enclosures for their cattle. But it does not increase one's popularity in the district. Inspected Kahandamodara school and rode back by a very bad Gansabhawa road to Ranna (about 20 miles).

JUNE 4th.

4. *East Giruwa Pattu*

Drove to Lunama and had breakfast by the side of the tank. The usual rinderpest work at Batata, Kirila and Lunama. Then rode to Welipatanwila and round to Ambalantota (about 18 miles) walked out to the cement pipe factory at Gallelitota 2 miles and then drove into Hambantota 8 miles.

JUNE 5th.

Routine.

JUNE 6th, SUNDAY

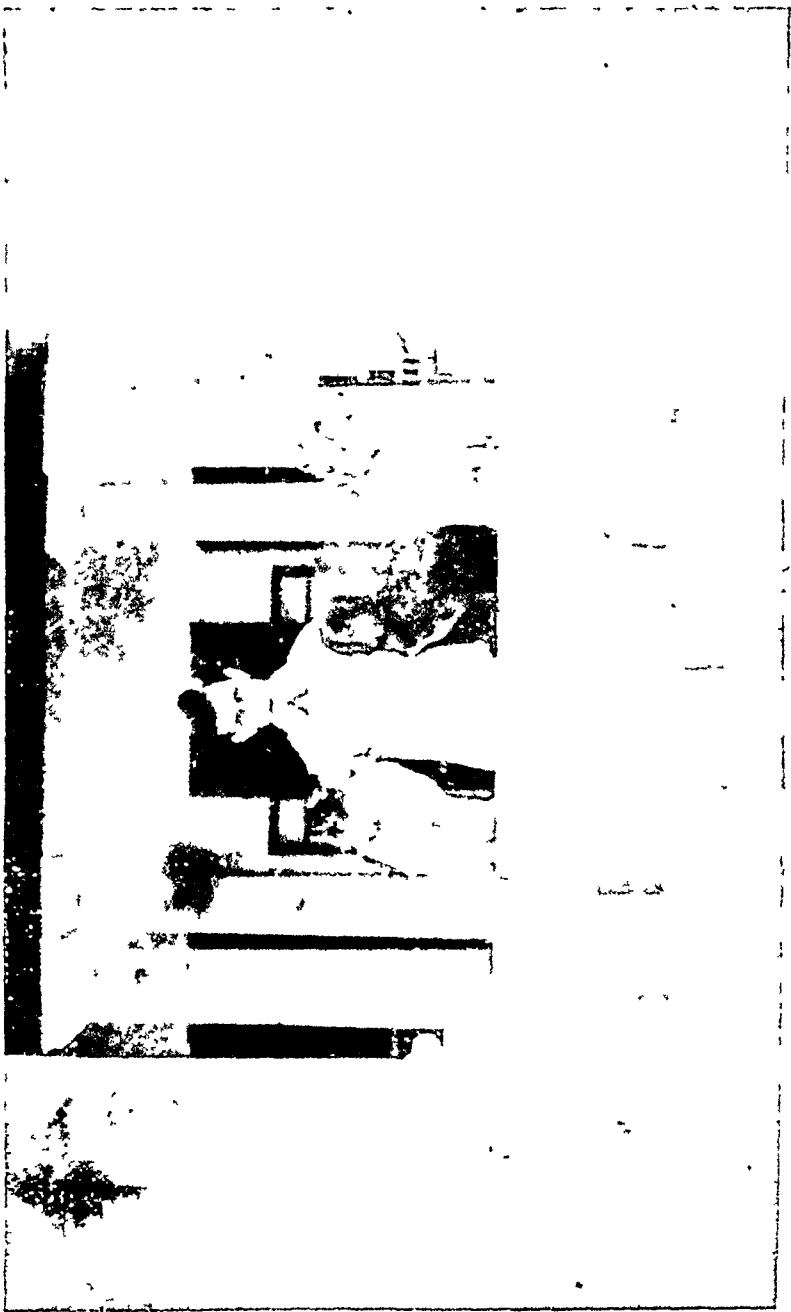
JUNE 7th.

Routine.

JUNE 8th.

5. *Sport and the Game Sanctuary.*

I had a most interesting interview with two planters. The Forest Ranger, Game Sanctuary had reported to me that one of them had shot a deer which was coming down the eastern bank of the Yala river from the Game Sanctuary to drink. I had a formal plaint put in and summons issued for today as the itinerating police magistrate would be here and he could try the case. At the same time I wrote to them explaining the charge and asking them whether they had any remarks to offer: I added that if it were not convenient for them to go into Court, I should be content to impose a fine of Rs. 50 upon them, if they admitted the offence. Today they arrived both rather



When Office Assistant at Jaffna, 1906

A photograph taken at his residence at Jaffna

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bad with fever and asked for an interview. One of them had not shot at all : the other had an explanation : however we differed on the questions of what was the law and what was sport. I was quite willing to submit my view to the court; but as he was not, it ended by his paying under protest the fine of Rs. 50. This gentleman, I feel sure, considers that I dealt with him very hardly : he is a member of the Game Protection Society and has his own version of the incident : but even if the Forest Ranger's version is not strictly correct, I do not think that people who come down here for purposes of 'sport' purely, have any right to shoot deer in the bed of the river which forms one boundary of the Game Sanctuary.

JUNE 9th.

Routine. I am opening the Tanamalwila road to cart traffic again.

JUNE 10th.

Mr. Harward DPI arrived and went into the question of schools with him.

JUNE 11th.

Meeting of District Schools committee. I went to open a Government vernacular school in Hambantota but there are difficulties as it should teach Tamil, the greater number of the inhabitants being Moormen and Malays. It will also have to be under the Board of Health, Hambantota, being under the operation of the Small Towns Ordinance.

6. *District Schools Committee*

JUNE 12th.

A long meeting of the Agricultural Society. Unless the people rouse themselves, the loss of so many buffaloes from rinderpest will be disastrous to cultivation under Tissa and Walawe. There is, I am convinced, only one way of saving the situation and that is by introducing the plough. I want to get hold of the influential proprietors and get them to buy ploughs, train black cattle in September and start ploughing on the 1st

7. *Ploughing instead of Mudding.*

LEONARD WOOLF

October I am writing for particulars of ploughs and suggesting to the Ceylon Agricultural Society that they should send me down an inspector who really understands the thing to help to introduce it. Unfortunately the people of Magampattu and East Giruwa pattu are not '*versando terram experti*' and starting from a prejudice against everything which their great-grandfathers did not know or did not do they (if they do try something new) are only too ready to throw it over as soon as the first difficulty appears. That is why a man is wanted who understands the subject and could when the difficulty arose smoothe it over.

JUNE 13th

Drove to Muriyawela and Sittiyakala and spent the morning pursuing and shooting stray cattle.

JUNE 14th

Routine. In afternoon started campaign against Hambantota cattle owners and went to Urubokka where the disease has practically died out.

JUNE 15th

The Hambantota owners are the most cunning in escaping slaughter of cattle. I fail to shoot one whenever I go out because they always manage to keep them off the roads when I go out. Really when I go in I expect all the cattle to come out.

JUNE 16th

Routine

JUNE 17th

Another round in the evening and at last found a clear case of straying which I could shoot.

JUNE 18th

To Tangalla. In evening rode out to Walagammeliya with the Mudaliyar and shot three stray buffaloes there.

8 Rinderpest
at
Hambantota

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

JUNE 19th.

In morning rode out to Marakolliya with Mr. Hodson after cattle. H.E. the acting Governor arrived and I accompanied him to Hambantota. ^{9. H.E.'s visit.}

JUNE 20th.

H.E. received petitioners with regard to rinderpest. Afterwards he motored to Bundala, Tissa and Kirinda.

JUNE 21st.

H.E. left Hambantota for Wellawaya.

JUNE 22nd.

Routine.

JUNE 23rd.

Drove and rode to Tissa. In evening I inspected the proposed site for the hospital and also the 250 acre block of crown land near the Debarawewa channel which is the hinge on which I want a scheme to turn. There are two blocks of crown irrigable land available for sale at Tissa—one 250 acres and the other 200 acres. I want to divide this extent up into blocks of land from 3 to 5 acres in extent and to give the small blocks to families to chena on the following conditions: Government to receive 1/5th share of the crop and a further 1/5th share to be sold and the money placed in deposit. Next Yala if the people begin to asweddumize the land, 1/5 share will be returned to them and the Government 1/5th expended in advancing seed paddy (1 1/4 amunams to be returned for each amunam advanced). The same plan will be followed with the paddy cultivation. 1/8th share will go to Government and 1/8th share will be deposited to be returned to the cultivator if he cultivates at the next harvest. The object of this scheme is to get small cultivators settled on the land and by advancing seed paddy to help them eventually to get out of the middleman's hands. ^{10. A scheme for leasing land.}

LEONARD WOOLF

11 *East
Guruwa Pattu
vacancy.*

I heard today that Government has ordered that the Mudaliyar, East Guruwa pattu, be removed from Government service. I am recommending that the Mudaliyar, Magam pattu, be transferred to East Guruwa pattu and that Mr. Amarasekera be appointed to succeed the Mudaliyar, Magampattu. I hope that this time Mr. Amarasekera's services will be recognised. He has served for five years as Pattu Muhandiram in Tissa, a most difficult and isolated post. Tissa is a place into which all sorts and conditions of people from the West of my district and from Matara have drifted it is inhabited to a large extent by a floating population which, in so isolated a spot, is not easy to deal with. The whole control of about 5,000 people who have thus been gathered together into a large clearing in the midst of the jungle is effected by four village headmen, who are strangers of course to a large number of the people. Under these circumstances it might, I think, be reasonably expected that Tissa would be a troublesome locality In point of fact, however, almost entirely I believe owing to the energy and ability of the Muhandiram, from the point of view of administration the condition of the villages which form the area under the Tissa scheme is better than that of any other locality in this district

12 *Tissa and
the Tissa
Muhandiram*

JUNE 24th.

13 *The road
to Wellawaya*

Inspected Tissa school and then rode on to Wirawila where I had much rinderpest work to attend to. I regret very much that it was decided to reopen the road to Koslanda Three carts had just come in from across the border, the bulls of one cart suffering from rinderpest. From Wirawila to Hambantota the disease has now been stamped out . but it will begin all over again if carts returning from Uva are again going to spread it all along the roads.

Drove in to Hambantota in the evening.

JUNE 25th

Routine.

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JUNE 26th.

I have received several complaints from the GA Sabaragamuwa that rinderpest is being spread from East Giruwa pattu into Sabaragamuwa at Kachchigala. This is a most inaccessible place but as the Mudaliyar of East Giruwa pattu who has been removed from services has not been able to effect anything I decided to make forced march up there. I bicycled early in the morning to Manadola 14 miles where my pony met me. From there rode to Wetiya on the Liyangahatota road (5 miles). Here were two bulls suffering from rinderpest in a gala. Struck across country from Wetiya to Abesekeragama (3 miles) where 'the Abesekera of Abesekeragama' (an old dismissed vidane arachchi of the old type of headmen with any amount of influence) met me and showed me all his cattle enclosed in the paddy fields. Then on to Metigatwala wewa (about 3 miles) where I found a very different state of affairs; buffaloes straying about round the tank. I shot two, one of which was diseased, the whole of one eye and part of one side of the face had been eaten away by maggots but the wretched beast was still straying about. I got some rice at Metigatwala and then rode on to Uswewa (2 miles) and Kachchigala (1½ miles). Here I found no stray and no diseased cattle but after enquiry I found that the headmen have undoubtedly been remiss. I am going to punish them and prosecute the chief offender. From Kachchigala there is a path to Kandaketiya (1½ miles) and from there to Talawa (4 miles) which I reached about 7.30 p.m.

14. *Rinderpest at Kachchigala*

JUNE 27th.

Started very early by the Gansabhawa path to ride to Wiraketiya (12 miles) through Debokkawa and Gonadeniya. It is most disappointing to ride through these unfrequented places when no headmen and none of the people 'except me because I then find the cattle straying about just as badly as they ever did before. It is true that there has been no disease between Talawa and Wiraketiya but there is disease at Talawa and it is straying of healthy cattle from uninfected into infected villages which is a great factor in spreading the disease.

15. *The Wiraketiya-Gonadeniya road.*

LEONARD WOOLF

16 *The ways
of dying
buffaloes*

A villager at Talawa told me of a curious example of a thing which I often hear of during the outbreak namely that buffaloes which get the disease break out madly and travel long distances to die in the place in which they were born. This man told me that the disease was brought to Talawa in the following way : four years ago a man in Talawa sold a she-buffalo to a man of Alutwewa a village 6 to 8 miles away. For 4 years this buffalo never came back to Talawa. A week or so ago it got the disease at Alutwewa, broke out of the pattiya there 'as if it were mad' and was found on the following morning lying dead in the fold at Talawa in which it had been born. Since then in Talawa which had been a 'clear' village there have been two other cases. At Wiraketiya I found that my trap had not arrived and as my pony had just fallen through a rotten plank in one of the Gansabhawa path bridges I had to borrow the police sub-inspector's bicycle and ride the 9 miles into Tangalla.

JUNE 28th.

17. *Tangalla*

The usual defaulters and innumerable questions at Tangalla. Held DRC meeting in the afternoon to choose a Superintendent Minor Roads to Mr. Brunton who has resigned.

JUNE 29th.

Inspected site for slaughter house. Had a meeting of proprietors under Walawe scheme to arrange for them to begin to plough next maha. Drove in evening to Ambalantota (18 miles). At the 127th milestone met the PO Kahandawa burying a buffalo which had been found dead near the road. This was a buffalo of Palatuduwa, a village about 6 miles off. This sort of thing makes the whole attempt to stop the spread desperate.

JUNE 30th.

Drove into Hambantota 8 miles

Sgd L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A.

Miles travelled	350
Amount of Travelling vote	Rs. 1200 00
Paid upto 30th June	663.27
Balance	<u>536.73</u>

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

JULY 1909

JULY 1st.

Routine.

JULY 2nd.

The first salt collection began today : a small one at the far end of the Koholankala Lewaya. I drove out there. It will not amount to much more than 500 or 600 cwts. but even this is something, for last year salt did not form in this lewaya at all.

1. *Salt collection.*

JULY 3rd.

Rode to Koholankala lewaya. As an experiment I am removing the salt at once to the Hambantota stores in order to see what the wastage is in the first week after collection.

JULY 4th, SUNDAY.

Rode early to Malala Kalapuwa (about 4 miles on the sand track to Bundala) where, after many years, salt is forming. I found it was much further from the modara than I expected; in fact quite close to the village of Pallemalala. A good collection may be expected here : my visit was not expected with the invariable result—the watchers were not watching. I rode up to the main road through the hamlet of Pallemalala and the villagers and vel vidane turned out with lamentations. I have introduced a new system of doing earthworks on village tanks by which the labour is called out for certain specified days and on those days the ISI is present, marks out the work and sees that it is done properly, the bund raised to the right height and shaped properly. Under the old system the work had to be done by a given date but it could be done at any time before that date and the earth was frequently dumped down anywhere and anyhow to be washed away by the first rains. The work for the Pallemalala tank had been called out for 6 days this month : the lamentations of the villagers were that the ground was now too hard to cut. I found this to be more or less true and the labour will be called out in October or November instead.

2. *Village tanks.*

LEONARD WOOLF

The vel vidane took me to see a tank north of the road in the jungle, Namade wewa which I had never seen before. It is quite a good little tank and I believe it is possible to cut a feeder channel to it from the Malala ara. These tanks are important not so much for cultivation for most fields have not been cultivated for years but as *providing a water supply and if I could get even one or two filled from the ara during the wet months, it would be a godsend to these waterless villages*

JULY 5th

Rode round Karaganara lewaya to see whether there is still water for cattle. Plenty everywhere still.

JULY 6th

2 Poachurg

I was to go to Bundala tomorrow to see the salt collection but it is a good plan to start 24 hours before one is expected, so I drove out there in the evening. On the road from Weligatta to Bundala which is famous for deer, I saw some way ahead a man with a gun and from the way he walked he looked as if he was on the point of coming up with his quarry. I approached very quietly but when I was 15 yards from him he looked round, saw me and bolted into the jungle which is quite a narrow strip between the Kalapuwa and the road. I could not see him, so drove on pretending not to notice him. I had not been 15 yards past the spot where he bolted when four does crossed the road a few yards in front of my trap. As soon as I had turned the next corner I stopped the trap, dashed into the jungle and tried to work back along the edge of the Kalapuwa and fall upon the poacher from behind. But he had the laugh of me for as I crawled through the scrub I saw red cloth under a bush and thought it must be my man hiding. I stalked him with great care and successfully pounced on him only to find that it was *not the poacher but an inoffensive pingo-carrier*

Arrived at Burdala only to find that the salt had been destroyed by rain. The formation at Maha lewaya and Malala Kalapuwa has also been destroyed.

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JULY 7th.

There are persistent reports the last day or two of buffaloes dying round Yodawewa; so I decided to go and see for myself. I started along the jungle track from Bundala to the Yodawewa low level sluice. It was about 6 a.m. and I had a similar experience to that of the previous evening. I suddenly came on a villager with a gun obviously after game. As soon as he saw me, he bolted but this time being on a pony, I was almost on top of him before he could get into the thick jungle. I have never seen a man more frightened but he simply hurled himself through or under a thorn brush (through which I could not get my pony) and disappeared leaving his cloth behind him. These two incidents show that there must be a good deal of poaching round Bundala. I see that Bibile RM says that in 'wild parts' villagers all must carry guns to protect themselves from wild beasts. This is not true of the 'wilds' of Hambantota. A villager who is carrying a gun for his protection does not walk on tiptoe and bolt when he sees the AGA. When a villager carries a gun he is going to shoot something for his dinner and he does not waste his powder and a bullet on a pigeon; he shoots deer. The whole thing was given away in a cattle stealing case before me the other day in the close season when the witness said 'I saw them cooking some meat and thought it must be elk meat'.

4. *Guns and poaching.*

I went round Yodawewa led by a boy who cheerfully volunteered to show me carcasses. He showed me three in thick jungle and as I smelt three other 'distinct smells and several stench' I concluded that this bit of jungle is badly infected. This is very unsatisfactory, for it must mean that the wild buffaloes are infected; in fact the boy maintained that the three carcasses were all those of wild buffaloes—they were however in such a state that I could not examine them to see whether there were brand marks. The villagers maintain that the wild buffaloes are dying fifty or a hundred a day all along the banks of the Yala river : but when I last saw Mr. Engelbrecht two days ago he told me that the wild buffaloes were still clean. I wish I had time to go and see for myself—though if it is true it is

5. *Rinderpest in the jungle.*

LEONARD WOOLF

quite impossible to do anything—but it takes too long. Altogether the news here is most disappointing as rinderpest has appeared among two of the herds which I got safely out of Tissa—out of 120 buffaloes and the other of 100 which had been clean for 6 weeks.

Rode back to Bundala in the evening having got wet two or three times from most unseasonable rain.

JULY 8th

Heavy rain which has effectually ruined the salt everywhere I should think. Drove back to Hambantota.

JULY 9th

Routine

JULY 10th

6 *Ploughing
at Tissa*

A meeting of the Agricultural Society, Doole Mudaliyar is going to purchase two ploughs and some trained cattle from the Matara man who is offering them in order that they may be tried at the ploughing demonstration which I have arranged with the Agricultural Society to hold on August 3rd. Some other members are going to get ploughs from West Giruwa pattu and the Agricultural Society are sending English ploughs so that a good trial should be ensured.

JULY 11th, SUNDAY

JULY 12th

7 *Irrigation
under major
works*

To Ambalantota in morning to hold a meeting to frame cultivators rules for Walawe. I forced the proprietors to pass rules much against their will. They object—and I think with reason—to the local revolution which is being forced upon them by which their headmen, their cultivation and their interests are being withdrawn from the supervision of the Government Agent and are being placed under that of the Irrigation Engineer. It is a curious position. There is a popular belief that it is the

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policy of the Government that the Government Agent should be the first administrative officer in his province : and yet in the last year Government has apparently decided to withdraw from the Government Agent, in a district where the main occupation of the people is paddy cultivation, the administration connected with (I suppose) 2/3rds at least of that cultivation—to hand it over at Walawe to an Irrigation Engineer who does not even live on the works and at Kirama and Urubokka to an Irrigation Inspector who does not even live in the district. It is not easy to see how the GA is going to maintain his influence as the first administrative officer in his province when headmen whose duty it is to supervise cattle and cultivation refuse to obey his orders because the Irrigation Superintendent or Engineer has given orders to the contrary and when the Irrigation Engineer without consulting the Government Agent decides that only one such headman is required where before there were two.

In evening to Tangalla.

JULY 13th-17th.

On leave.

JULY 18th, SUNDAY.

JULY 19th.

A civil case arousing considerable local interest with proctors from Tangalla and Galle kept me a considerable time in court and had to be postponed at 6 p.m. tomorrow.

JULY 20th.

Routine and finished hearing evidence in the civil case.

JULY 21st.

Started a circuit through the northern part of Magampattu which is very rarely visited by the AGA. One leaves Hambantota due north up the old Badulla road which is now in a terrible state. Keligama tank a splendid village tank into which I am

8. *Keligama
Gonwara
and E...*

LEONARD WOOLF

going to get a channel traced from the Mala laara is 6 miles from Hambantota. No village here, the proprietors chiefly Koholankala people. Breakfasted at Gonnoruwa. The people came and asked for chenas, a registrar and a school. I was pleased to see about 30 buffaloes in the tank : no sickness here though a month ago two stray buffaloes from Keligama came and died in the village. In afternoon to Kurundane to inspect a tank and then on to Ellala where my tents were.

9. *Chenas*

Appointment of headmen and inquiries in evening. I am becoming more and more convinced that the outcry against chenas can be overdone. In many villages it means that either the village must cease to exist or chenas must be granted.

JULY 22nd.

10. *Migahajandura*

Rode early to Ranawarnawewa (2 miles there and back) a fine tank, then to Kuda Indiwewa, Maha Indiwewa and Bogahauduwewa, miserable villages of poverty-stricken people. The country here is interminable scrub, the heat appalling and life made peculiarly irritating owing to innumerable small but penetrating ticks. Migahajandura (6 miles) where I lunched has a fine tank to which as I lay on the bund a herd of 6 deer including a buck came to drink in the middle of the day. The old Arachchi whose grave stands by the roadside was very strict in protecting the game and it still seems to be plentiful. After lunch rode to Pahala Kumbuk wewa $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles and back, also a fine tank and quite a big village of 90 persons. Then to Weluwewa where the Migahajandura school is and so to Suriyawewa (4 miles) where I camped in the bed of the tank

JULY 23rd

11. *Suriyawewa, Happoruwa, and Mahagama*

At Suriyawewa rinderpest is just dying out with the last of the cattle but as I heard that it was raging at Mahagama and Bahirawa in the Uva province, most inaccessible villages, I thought I ought to cross the border and see what could be seen. First to Happoruwa (2 miles) a splendid tank and the only one in Magampattu under which there is cultivation this Yala. Then 4 miles by a jungle path to Mahagama. I found a velvidane

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there who said that 180 buffaloes had died and that they were still dying in Bahirawa but I had no time to go there. At Mahagama there is an enormous old breached tank with an ancient sluice which is an example of solid and enduring work is wonderful. There are two channels 100 feet or more in length built out of solid slabs of stone 10 feet by 5 feet (I should think) standing intact. I am unaware whether this scheme has ever been examined and reported upon but the villagers state that it irrigated an immense area of what is now scrub and jungle. They cultivate a small piece of the tank bed now by means of a bund within the bund. this is the country of breached and ruined tanks: there is the immense breached tank of Badagiriya, north of that is a large tank called Galwewa which if repaired and filled would irrigate a vast extent, it is said, and then there is this work at Mahagama. I know nothing about the supply of water at Mahagama but I am sure that the water that now comes down the Malala ara would not in 4 out of 5 years fill Galwewa or Badagiriya. One wonders whether the rainfall—as the villagers say—has really decreased or whether these vast works were not always vast failures; immense tanks built by the kings' commands in a wilderness of jungle where the rainfall and the streams were alike insufficient to admit of regular cultivation. This at least would account for the fact that almost every trace of it having been a really populous country has been blotted out.

12. *Irrigation in the past.*

JULY 24th.

In morning to Koggalla (10 miles) passing Bediwewa (2 miles) and inspecting the tank there; an unsatisfactory velvidane. Further on is Pilimagala, a rock and water pool and 4 miles from Koggalla I left the pony and walked a mile or so through the jungle to Karambagala, a big rock hill with steps up to the top where originally there was a vihare. A priest settled down here some time ago with the intention of restoring it but he gave it up and the place is very overgrown. It is full of caves and famous for bears but I saw none nor the tracks of any.

3. *Koggalla.*

LEONARD WOOLF

JULY 25th, SUNDAY

14 *Beragama
and Wilgam-
vihare*

In morning to Beragama (4 miles) to inspect the Wilgam Vihare. Two priests from Welipatanwila have settled down here and want to restore the dagoba. they also ask that 4 acres of land round the dagoba be given to them to clear. They say that this extent was previously allowed to the dagoba by Mr. Murray A.G.A. I must look up the papers. From Beragama to Ambalantota about three miles by a Gansabhawa road. After doing circuit work at Ambalantota rode into Hambantota in evening.

15 *Chenas*

The circuit has more than ever convinced me that the question of chenas should be faced. In the northern Walakadas of this division there are these wretched villages scattered through the jungle. The people own paddy land under tanks but in 3 out of 4 years there is no water to cultivate the fields. They all say that coconut trees and garden produce of all kinds will not grow in the drought which is annual and I think the statement may in most cases be accepted. For mile after mile one passes through scrub or low jungle without a tree of valuable timber. Unless this valueless jungle is given to the villagers to chena, they have no means of support in their villages. But owning land they would rather drag on without means of support in these miserable villages than go in search of work to Tissa and elsewhere. Further in many cases they have not even the ready money to pay for the Government chenas at all and so if they do take chenas from Government they have to get the money for them on (one may be certain) ruinous terms. Government should face the question which resolves itself really into two parts: (1) either the policy of curtailing chenas should be continued on the understanding that it will almost certainly mean the gradual extinction of some villages or certain definite portions of scrub jungle should be set aside for each village in which chena cultivation is considered necessary by the A.G.A. and chena permits issued regularly within that extent for that village. (2) Government should recognise that the people who need chenas most very often are unable to take them because of the payment in advance (which is completely

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at variance with the customs of cultivation throughout the district). The Assistant Agent should, I consider, be allowed to give these persons chenas on the condition that Government takes 1/8th of the produce. Chena cultivation has for a long time now been regarded as unnecessary : it is useless, but typical for Government to stop short just at the point where the object might be attained for the Government has (and probably will) only go halfway and therefore it has stultified itself : it allows chenas but the payment in advance throws the villager who is poor and is supposed to be helped into the hands of the well-to-do or it makes it impossible for him to chena at all.

JULY 26th.

I am sorry to say that Doole Mudaliyar died today. His influence was very great in Hambantota and his loss will be much felt. He served Government for 48 years.

16. *Death of Doole Mudaliyar*

JULY 27th.

Attended Doole Mudaliyar's funeral.

Kept very late in court by a cattle stealing case—the first true cattle stealing case which has come before me here.

JULY 28th.

Routine.

I was amused, so soon after writing part of this diary, in reading this evening the diary for 1848 of the A.G.A. Hambantota, to come upon the following passage :—

17. 1848—
1909.

'This tank must have been capable of irrigating an immense tract of land which now is dry and parched. It would be curious to discover if there was as little rain fell (sic) in those days in the Magam pattoo as there is now during the course of a year. If there was, these large tanks could never have been filled with water.....It is melancholy to travel over a country like this abounding with traces of a teeming population possessed apparently of a far greater amount of intelligence and energy than the inhabitants of the present day can boast of and to view its

LEONARD WOOLF

present desolate state! Then to speculate upon the causes of its depopulation how involved in mystery! Did foreign war or civil discord with their attendant horrors bring about the catastrophe? or did imperial tyranny and administrative oppression lay waste the country?'

It looks as if the only thing to have changed in the Magam pattoo during the last 60 years is the style of the A G A's diary—and that decidedly for the worse

JULY 29th

18 *A Government school for Hambantota*

Held a meeting of the principal Moor and Malay inhabitants of Hambantota to get their opinion on my proposal to open a Sanitary Board school in the town. They were all in favour of it provided that they be allowed before and after school hours to use the building for teaching the Koran. As the school will be a Tamil school, and all the boys and girls Mohammedans, I can see no objection to this. I was surprised to find that they were all in favour of compulsory 'female education.'

JULY 30th

Routine

JULY 31st

19 *Salt collection Maha Lewaya*

Drove in evening to Wirawila 15 miles. On the way inspected salt collection Maha lewaya, the first this year at this lewaya. The salt particularly fine and white and if only the weather now holds we should get over 20,000 cwts. The Bundala formation, for about the 7th time this year, was last week dissolved by rain, it is however forming again and collection is fixed for 15th. All formations have been destroyed by rain at Palatupana so far, but a collection is now fixed for August 5th.

Sgd L. S. Woolf.
A G A

Miles travelled in district	196
Amount of travelling vote	Rs. 1200 00
Paid upto 31st July '09	867 57
Balance	<u>332 43</u>

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

AUGUST 1909

AUGUST 1st, SUNDAY.

Walked to Niyandagala, a water hole 4 miles north of the Tanamalwila road from the 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, a place famous for bears. In the water hole I found the carcasses of 4 wild buffaloes, and a sambhur. Round the rock were 4 dead wild buffaloes and 2 dead pigs. I sat up the night there but no bears came, only 2 herds of elephants, 10 in all, and they would not drink the polluted water.

1. *Niyandagala wild buffaloes and Rinderpest.*

AUGUST 2nd.

In morning to Tissa. In evening went down to the field to see that everything is in readiness for the ploughing demonstration tomorrow. Found the 3 agricultural instructors ploughing before many interested spectators.

2. *Tissa ploughing.*

AUGUST 3rd.

Started the ploughing demonstration at 7 a.m. before a big crowd. Three ploughs were used, the Climax, Maston and Koorie. The Koorie is too heavy : the Climax is far and away the best and seems most successful but the cultivators think it a little too heavy for their bulls, they are all in favour of the small plough the Maston. They all promised to try these ploughs and I told them that if they liked I would order the ploughs from Walkers and get them sent to Hambantota. They are giving their names to the Muhandiram who will send me the list. He has already applications for 50 ploughs which is far more than I expected.

A large crowd of proprietors and cultivators came to me to complain that the sluices have been closed and no water issued after August 1st. The result is that the crop on about 1,500 to 2,000 acres is dying for want of water. I asked the I.E. to issue water. He replied that he had the DI's instructions to issue no water after August 1st and that until those instructions were cancelled no water could be issued. He had written

3. *The Yala crop.*

LEONARD WOOLF

to the DI explaining the present state of affairs and had asked for instructions to be sent by wire. As the matter is urgent I wired to the DI direct and asked him to give orders for issue of water at once.

Later the IE got a telegram from the DI saying that water can be issued on condition that cultivation next maha is curtailed by the number of days on which water is issued for the Yala Crop in after August 1st. I called the cultivators together again and told them of the condition. They agreed to accept it under protest—they could hardly be expected to agree to the destruction of their crops and on the understanding that I would protest to Government.

The treatment of the cultivators in this way is greatly to be regretted. They sowed a crop this Yala in the face of the greatest difficulties owing to rinderpest. They are legally entitled to sow up to May 31st: they are accustomed to sow and the IE told them they could sow up to May 15th. Everyone knows that crops require water for 3 months from the time of sowing: everyone knew that the crops this year would require water up to August 15th. There is water in the tank for issue to low level fields. With no notice to the A G A. and with the crop still standing on 2,000 acres requiring water, the DI shuts off all water on August 1st. This action is still more inexplicable when one considers that even when the DI's own new scheme is brought into operation water will be issued up to August 7th. Under these circumstances the condition of course is out of the question especially as the full period for cultivation will be required next Maha if ploughing is to be introduced. But the most deplorable effect of this kind of thing is that the cultivators get a rooted idea that they cannot expect fair treatment from the Irrigation Department.

AUGUST 4th.

4. *The new rules*

Meeting of proprietors to frame new rules. Great opposition to the new system here but I induced the proprietors to pass a rule making it obligatory to sow 60 days paddy for

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

yala. This has again and again been pressed upon them but they have steadily refused to do so. I feel it is a great victory to have got them to pass this rule as it ought to revolutionise cultivation at Tissa.

In evening went with Agricultural Instructors to Debarawewa channel to select a site for an experimental garden and paddy fields which it is proposed to start here.

AUGUST 5th.

Rode in early morning to Palatupana lewaya 10 miles. ^{5. Palatupana Salt collection.} Salt collection just begun there. I found Salt Superintendent and Muhandiram, West Giruwa pattu there. The latter I had ordered to bring men personally from the Tangalla district. The labour supply was however not good. I therefore sent him straight back to Tangalla with orders to bring 350 more men. Very good formation of salt here of a peculiarly pink colour. I am told it is always pink at Palatupana. Rode back to Kirinda 4 miles to breakfast and in evening to Bundala 6 miles.

AUGUST 6th.

Drove Hambantota 13 miles.

A most interesting cattle stealing case in which I found the accused guilty but I am afraid he will get off in appeal. He is undoubtedly guilty.

AUGUST 7th.

Routine.

AUGUST 8th, SUNDAY.

Rode to Maha lewaya where we are getting to the end of the collection. We have collected over 15,000 cwts. here.

AUGUST 9th.

Routine.

LEONARD WOOLF

AUGUST 10th

6 *Tangalla*
Rinderpest

To Tangalla 26 miles Consulted ASP and redistributed police on rinderpest duty in West Giruwa pattu reducing the whole number to 8 I have withdrawn all police from rinderpest duty in Magampattu and reopened all roads there I still have one of the large herds of buffaloes from Tissa uninfected but it is quarantined in the midst of jungle which is full of dying wild buffaloes I am at my wit's end to know where to send it to but have finally decided upon Patiraja, a small village 5 miles from Hambantota where there is water and grass still I am sorry to say that rinderpest has broken out in the game sanctuary

7 *Circuit*
work

A DRC meeting fixed for today had to be postponed owing to want of a quorum, Mr Auwardt being unwell

AUGUST 11th

Heavy rain, most unusual at this time of the year

A meeting of Sanitary Board, the first under the new Ordinance Also of DRC Inspected police in morning with ASP and inspected hospital and town with the DMO

In evening rode out to Palatuduwa and Godigamuwa to inspect 2 tanks Decided to strike them off list (1) Punchi Lebina wewa, (2) Beddewewa A villager came up and said he owned 30 out of the herd of buffaloes which has been saved from Tissa and asked to be allowed to take them to Mamadola This is a good idea I think, to put them for 21 days at Patiraja and then send them to Walawe

AUGUST 12th

8 *Dickwella*

Rode to Dickwella 10 miles inspecting on way tank at Morahetiara and Buddhist school at same place, also Nakulugamuwa Government school The latter is the biggest school in the district Defaulters and warrants at Dickwella In evening drove to Kahawatta inspecting Nakulugamuwa Mahawewa and another tank at Dedduwawela

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AUGUST 13th.

Rode to Nihiluwa and Taraperiya inspected Government school and gansabhawa path to Okewela, Vihara wewa at Walawela, and Godawela tank. At Godawela I went to see the big pansala there : it is said to be the only priest's college in the district; 20 priests and 6 laymen are being taught there.

9. *Nihiluwa
and
Taraperiya.*

In evening drove Puwakdanduwa and walked to Palapota to decide on site for new school by a very good gansabhawa road which has been much damaged by the recent heavy rain.

AUGUST 14th.

Defaulters and enquiries in afternoon. Rode to Walas-mulla in evening (6 miles). Inspected Alutwewa at Pallatara where there is a masonry sluice which is said to need repair. It must be reported on by ISI when the water in tank is lower.

10. *Walas-
mulla.*

AUGUST 15th, SUNDAY,

Walked to Padapitiya and inspected a village tank there. Nearly all fields under it are cultivated, quite a good crop. The Gamsabhawa path which goes on to Kamamuldeniya is much frequented. Defaulters in large numbers and enquiries in afternoon.

Drove Wiraketiya (5 miles) in evening inspecting the following tanks (1) Deniyawewa, (2) Adnamullawewa, (3) Rajapotawewa, (4) Wiraketiya wewa. The village tanks in West Giruwa pattu are in a very unsatisfactory state. I had a very bad irrigation sub-inspector whom I have now got rid of.

11. *Wira-
ketiya.*

AUGUST 16th.

Inspected proposed site for cooly lines for Irrigation Department. Defaulters and enquiries.

In evening rode to Wiraketiya. (70 miles). Inspected Naidagala (?) vihare, an old vihare with a rock inscription. Also the following tanks (1) Pahalajulpitiya wewa at Agrahera, (2) Julketiyawewa at Hinbunna, (3) Punchiwewa ditto, (4) Andiga-

12. *Wiraketi-
ya to Ranna.*

deniya wewa at Talwinna (5) Deniyawewa ditto, (6) Udamulana wewa at Wigomuwa, (7) Galaiawalawewa,

AUGUST 17th

13 *Ranna
Ploughing
demonstration*

Ploughing demonstration not well attended. The people here already use the native plough and it is difficult to induce them to give it up for the heavier and better English and American patterns. The Mudaliyar got about 20 people to give in their names for a plough apiece.

14 *The
introduction
of ploughs*

On the whole I am very glad I started this and got the Agricultural Society to send instructors as the results are not unsatisfactory. Tissa and Walawe are the really important places as the destruction of the buffaloes endangers the prosperity of both places for years to come. The results so far at Tissa exceed my expectations as I have already received applications for 80 or 90 ploughs and have ordered them from Walkers. This was in part due to my being personally present and being able to talk to the land owners, but it was also due to the influence which the Muhandiram has with the people. At Walawe I was unable to be present and the acting Mudaliyar East Giruwa patta had to manage it. The result is that applications have been made for only 5 ploughs. The pinch too will come in October when cultivation begins and difficulties of untrained bulls and untrained men become apparent. As soon as the slightest difficulty appears the cultivator will be utterly discouraged and unless driven will give up the attempt. I am therefore asking the Agricultural Society to send me at least one instructor to stay here throughout the cultivation period and I shall have to be at Tissa continually in order to keep the people at it. I think it is better to concentrate almost all my efforts on Tissa this year and rather to neglect Walawe as the people have responded so well there so far and with the Muhandiram's influence there are some hopes. If the plough is once proved successful there it is bound to spread to Walawe.

In evening the appointment of many headmen and vidanes and large crowds apparently interested in the appointment of the Vidana Arachchi, Ranna North.

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AUGUST 18th.

Went with Mr. Gunaratne, a Matara proctor, to inspect a land at Mini-tiliya which the Crown sold to his client. The purchaser is kept out of possession by a claimant and has had to institute an action. It is very difficult to get any evidence as the claimant is an influential man. 15. *A Mini-tiliya land case.*

Drove to Ambalantota and rode on to Hambantota 18 miles.

AUGUST 19th.

Routine.

In evening to Weligatta.

AUGUST 20th.

Had a most unpleasant experience. At 5 yesterday evening I went out after peafowl and as I found none I strolled through the jungle towards Etulbokka. Eventually decided to cut across to the Bundala road but the jungle was so thick I lost the direction. I had to go due west, I knew, so went for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour in the direction where the sky was brightest. By that time I knew, by the thickness of the jungle and the fact that I should have struck the road, that I was lost. I climbed a tree and found that I had been going due east, the setting sun being covered by clouds and all the light being in the east. There was no moon and it soon became pitch dark and it was quite impossible to get through the thick thorn jungle in the dark. Luckily I had matches and a copy of the rinderpest regulations and so managed to light a fire. The whole jungle was dripping wet from the afternoon's rain : so I had a weary night sleeping for half an hour and then having to wake up and hunt about for dry sticks to keep the fire alight. As soon as it was light I started off due west and after 1 1/4 hours came out exactly at the Weligatta bungalow. Rode on to Tissa (12 miles) and held a land sale. 16. *The jungle at Bundala.*

AUGUST 21st.

Drove and rode to Hambantota 20 miles.

LEONARD WOOLF

AUGUST 22nd, SUNDAY.

AUGUST 23rd.

Routine.

17. *Salt collection.*

A salt collection began at Bundala today. After all we are not doing so badly considering that our first collection was on July 2nd. Up to August 21st, the salt collection have been as follows:—

	cwts.	lewaya
(1) July 2nd-4th	762	Koholankala
(2) July 2nd-7th	7479	Bundala
(3) July 6th-7th	114	Palatupana
(4) July 31st-August 12th	18,566	Maha
(5) August 11th-21st	4021	Bundala
(6) August 11th-21st	22,841	Palatupana
	<u>53,783</u>	

AUGUST 24th.

18. *Rinderpest salvage.*

Of the 450-odd buffaloes which I thought I had saved out of Tissa by sending them to various places, 283 appear to have been finally saved. 125 were sent to Bogahawewa and rinderpest never touched there at all (9 have died from natural causes) and they are now going to be removed to Patiraja. Among the 120 sent to Tanjamagam the 202 sent to Henagahapuwewa, rinderpest broke out, but by judicious isolation 56 and 97 have been saved. Another 19 were saved out of 27 sent to Deberakela.

AUGUST 25th.

Routine.

AUGUST 26th.

19. *Salt collection.*

I had the Muhandiram West Giruwa Pattu sent to the lewayas with men from West Giruwa pattu to collect salt. This seems to have borne fruit, for yesterday I had 510 men collecting at Bundala and they collected 5,379 cwts. Altogether I have collected about 14,000 cwts in four days, the total now being

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67,332 cwts. Rode to the maha lewaya this evening, salt is forming there and a collection may be expected on September 1st.

AUGUST 27th.

Routine.

AUGUST 28th.

Routine. Rode to Ambalantota by Godawaya dagoba in evening.

AUGUST 29th, SUNDAY.

Crossed the water between Wanduruppa and Diyagsgoda and walked through Diyagsgoda a famous place for peafowl to Godawaya and then rode into Hambantota.

AUGUST 30th.

Routine.

AUGUST 31st.

The Itinerating Police Magistrate being ill I found all the cases fixed for him on my hands. The result was that I had $4\frac{3}{4}$ hours in court besides the Kachcheri work. There is very little work comparatively in the Hambantota court but there is just enough to make it a positive burden. The Kachcheri is a heavy one but not too heavy for one man if he has his whole time. It is just the 2 or 3 hours in court which throw the whole thing out : and when after sitting as today the whole day in court one comes back to find the whole of the Kachcheri work still to do, one feels the drag.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A.

Miles travelled in month	182
Amount of vote	Rs. 1200.00
Spent upto the end of August	1084.80
Balance	<u>115.20</u>

SEPTEMBER 1909

SEPTEMBER 1st.

Routine.

SEPTEMBER 2nd.

Ditto.

SEPTEMBER 3rd.

1. *Ambalantota.*

Rode to Ambalantota in morning, visited Diyagasgoda *en route*. Enquiries and defaulters. I have just declared East Giruwa pattu uninfected as no cases have been reported for a long time. Now 2 cases have occurred at Mamadola among buffaloes discovered to have been brought there without permit from West Giruwa pattu.

SEPTEMBER 4th.

2. *Hatagala.*

Drove to Hatagala and from there walked to a land at Minietiliya which the Crown sold some years ago but of which the purchaser has been unable to obtain possession. He now is taking a case against the claimant who has great influence in the village. I am enquiring with a view to see what evidence there is on behalf of the crown but I confess to some doubt as to the result.

3. *Angunakolapelessa.*

From Minietiliya took the Vidane Arachehi with me to show me the way to Mulana and walked across country there and then onto Angunakolapelessa between 6 and 7 miles. In the afternoon inquiries etc., in evening walked out to Mahawela, a famous peafowl ground, inspecting on way Wakariya wewa, Amunawewa and Dickwala wewa. These tanks will be completed this year and I have just put cement pipe sluices into them. The yala crop under most of these Angunakolapelessa tanks has been a failure owing to want of water and I saw the paddy standing mostly dead in the fields under 3 of them.

SEPTEMBER 5th, SUNDAY.

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SEPTEMBER 6th.

Rode Talawa 10 miles inspecting Palugaswewa tank which I have decided to strike off the list : also the 2 Debokkawa tanks which will be completed this year.

At Talawa inspected the school which is distinctly flourishing. In the afternoon the usual vast crowd who always come to see the A.G.A. at their village with a most varied quantity of petitions and requests. The village politics of Abesekera-gama where the head of the Abesekeras, a rather malignant old influential dismissed Vidane Arachchi rules are always well to the fore. These village politics very nearly frustrated the opening of a channel from the Kachchigal ara to the Abesekera-gama tank—a scheme which Government directed the Irrigation Department to report on. However I got the old man to promise to get the work done. Nothing so disorders the affairs of a village as the presence of an old influential dismissed Arachchi—in this case (contrary to former policy and I believe the wishes of the present VA) I am going to try the only real cure, the appointment of a son as police officer.

SEPTEMBER 7th.

Rode to Katuwana. Inspected the new school at Middeniya. At this village some Berawaya women stopped me with a curious request. By immemorial custom (I suppose) they are not allowed to wear jackets but only to wind a narrow strip of cloth over their breasts and under the armpits. They asked my permission to wear jackets giving as their reason that they could not pound rice decently owing to this strip of cloth. The old Vidana Arachchi, a crusted conservative, was present; so I asked his opinion. He said that this caste had never been allowed jackets but (after some cogitation) that if they did not put their arms into the sleeves they might be allowed to wear them just hanging round their necks. I told the women that they had better do this and they were quite satisfied.

5. *Middeniya & Katuwana.*

Held a long inquiry into a petition in which Mr. Wirasinha a young man (apparently very well educated) the son of the old Pattu Muhandiram is accused of felling some trees in crown

6. *Enquiries*

LEONARD WOOLF

jungle Mr Wirasinha was present but I found no real evidence against him The suspicious thing is that the Headmen's stories of their inquiries &c are most contradictory and I believe that the vidana arachchu concerned used to be a servant in the Wirasinha family I dealt with the headmen and gave some wholesome advice to the young man who is distinctly a nuisance in this village and against whom there are frequent complaints that he harasses the villagers

SEPTEMBER 8th

Drove Kirama inspected Amuna wewa and the school In afternoon defaulters &c

SEPTEMBER 9th

7 Warapitiya

Warapitiya village is one of those handed over to the A G A by the SO to finish off There are still 150 lots to be settled and at 5 a m I started from Kirama to inspect them It is very hard work as the country is very hilly and I was glad to get to my camp by the side of the Kirama tank at 11 Started inspecting again at 3 30 and ended at dusk

SEPTEMBER 10th

8 Sapu
tantirikanda

Started at 6 for Saputantirikanda (which is being settled) a small village high up on the hills which divide West Giruwa pattu from Morawak korale The path to this village is actually perpendicular in places and there is only one path to it The whole of this piece of country is by far the prettiest in the district it is almost Kandyan and the climate is perfect

In afternoon did another $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours inspecting of Warapitiya and then back to Kirama

SEPTEMBER 11th

7 Kirama to
Wiraketiya
via Julampitiya

Rode to Julampitiya about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles by the path through Nawaneliya and Ihala Obada Nawaneliya appears to be a large prosperous village with 2 village tanks which I inspected At Ihala Obada the country becomes poorer looking and drier although I saw some of the finest looking coconut trees that I have seen in this district No A G A has been to Julampitiya

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for years and there were a vast number of spectators at the enquiries and selection of a V.A. The V.A. has been dismissed over misconduct with regard to crown land. Had lunch at Julampitiya and then rode on to Wiraketiya fording the Urubokka oya at Kiribat Amuna where out of Gansabhawa funds we are building a bridge this year. It is about 5 miles from Julampitiya to Wiraketiya, most of it through terrible chena. At Kunchigune Medagama however there is a magnificent sweep of paddy fields fed from the Urubokka stream.

SEPTEMBER 12th.

Much tappal and an enquiry with all the velvidanes under Urubokka and Kirama with regard to seasons for cultivation.

SEPTEMBER 13th.

I have had to disturb my circuit in order to go into Tangalla to give evidence in a DC case there tomorrow : after doing so, I find it has to be postponed.

SEPTEMBER 14th.

Bicycled the 26 miles into Hambantota before breakfast. I am not sure that it is not the best way of getting over this detestable piece of road.

SEPTEMBER 15th & 16th.

Routine.

SEPTEMBER 17th.

A curious case in which a V.A. accuses the head-guard of Palatupana lewaya and about 10 watchers with beating him and tying him up for about 24 hours and the head-guard accuses the V.A. with attempted theft of salt.

SEPTEMBER 18th.

Routine.

SEPTEMBER 19th. SUNDAY.

Started at 5 a.m. and bicycled to Bundala, a surprise visit to the salt collection going on there. It is curious how the luck changed in August. At the beginning of August I really thought

10. Salt collection at Bundala.

LEONARD WOOLF

we should not collect anything this year each formation being destroyed by rain. Now there is every prospect of our getting 100,000 cwts. in the year My pony met me at the Lewaya about 9 a m and I rode back. Riding across the Malala Kalapuwa I was almost blotted out by a regular sandstorm, a perfect hurricane of wind and the sand so thick that one could scarcely see 20 yards ahead.

SEPTEMBER 20th

Routine.

SEPTEMBER 21st

Routine

SEPTEMBER 22nd.

Rode to Maha lewaya in morning and inspected salt formation which is bad owing to the lewaya not having been properly smoothed A collection of 5,000 cwts may begin on 26th.

SEPTEMBER 23rd

11 *Ploughing.*

An agricultural inspector arrived for aid in ploughing. The great difficulty is cattle I am scraping them together from all over Magampattu in twos and threes The Muhandiram went up to a small village in the middle of the jungle Ellala and returned with 25 pairs of absolutely untrained bulls which he is to take out to Tissa and train It will really be a great thing if after all some use is found for these stray cattle which are so often said to be utterly useless. I am making Rahim, the man whose cattle (bufialoes) had to be shot and to whom Government has just given a donation, send me in some bulls and I intend to train them here in Hambantota and then send them out to be used in Tissa Bulls in Hambantota are to be trained by the side of the Karagam lewaya . it is literally a case of ploughing the sands—I hope it is not ominous Both the Head Clerk of the D.R.C Mr de Silva and the Native Writer of the Kacheheri Mr. Usuf, I have got to begin training bulls to plough their lands at Tissa in this way.

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SEPTEMBER 24th.

Ploughed the lewaya in the morning aided by Mr. Baker.

SEPTEMBER 25th.

Ditto. The Hambantota carters who all said that the Hambantota bulls would never be able to pull these English ploughs are now quite won over after seeing the ploughs being used. I hope to be able to get some of their bulls for work at Tissa. It is a most fascinating occupation at the same time to teach two bulls and oneself to plough.

SEPTEMBER 26th, SUNDAY.

Went with Mr. Baker to Weligatta, Julgama wewa and Patiraja.

SEPTEMBER 27th.

Routine.

In evening rode to Maha lewaya where a salt collection was proceeding. Under the old system the collectors did not receive the stamped tickets, entitling them to payment at the Kacheri, when the salt was each evening taken over. They received only slips of paper signed by the counters and on presenting these sometimes weeks afterwards to the salt superintendent they used to get the stamped tickets. I am introducing a system of issuing the stamped tickets at once by the supervisor when the salt is taken over, but the Salt Superintendent has been complaining that it takes too long. I therefore went to the lewaya at 4 p.m. to see for myself. The storekeeper in my presence took over and issued tickets for 714 bags of salt in $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours, which is not too long a time. At any rate it is obvious that the present system of issuing slips of paper lends itself to all kinds of abuse.

12. *Payment for collecting Salt.*

SEPTEMBER 28th.

Saw the Salt Superintendent about issuing the tickets. It is curious what an involution one finds in the simplest routine matters as soon as one looks into them. I find that there is a

13. *Ditto*

LEONARD WOOLF

regular business done in these salt tickets in Hambantota in the following way The collector who has collected a bag gets a slip of paper from the counter which entitles him to a 'check ticket' from the Superintendent The check ticket entitles him to 20 cents at the Kachcheri But there is obviously ample room for delay between the man getting the money for the salt collected by him There has therefore come into existence a class of harpies who go down to the lewayas and buy up the slips of paper and tickets from the collectors for cash at 18 cents per ticket I am putting a stop to this by issuing the check tickets on the spot to collectors when the bags were taken over and having the shroff or superintendent on the spot with money who will pay cash for the tickets presented to them on the lewaya

SEPTEMBER 29th

Routine

SEPTEMBER 30th

Routine

Sgd L. S. Woolf.

A G A

Miles travelled	150
Balance in Travelling vote	Rs 280 75

OCTOBER 1909

OCTOBER 1st

Routine

OCTOBER 2nd

Hambantota beat Tangalla at cricket for the first time amidst enormous excitement

In evening to Ambalantota

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OCTOBER 3rd, SUNDAY.

At Mamadola.

OCTOBER 4th.

Spent the whole morning ploughing. About 10 acres have been ploughed with the new plough under Mamadola tank but this morning's work was most disappointing. They have contrary to my repeated instructions flooded the fields with water. The consequence is that the plough, bulls and ploughman sink into a morass, the plough becomes entangled in weeds and the bulls exhausted. I am going to make them begin on a practically dry field tomorrow.

1. *Ploughing at Mamadola*

OCTOBER 5th.

Started ploughing the new fields in the Jansz lands and it was entirely successful. The field was almost dry, the ploughs cut through it splendidly with quarter the work for the bulls compared with the labour in the mud yesterday. In the afternoon started in a thunderstorm for Beminiyanwila where the V.A. is ploughing. Here too the experiment is successful in so far as the V.A. is convinced of the advantage from the quickness with which the plough works. He complains of the difficulty of getting people to work the plough as it requires a little labour. Led my pony for a mile over fields and stuck the Walawe Estate road by which in rain and dark I reached Ambalantota.

OCTOBER 6th.

Enquiries in morning. Mr. Doole the new Mudaliyar took over yesterday.

Drove into Hambantota 8 miles.

OCTOBER 7th.

Routine.

More rain today. All salt formations destroyed. However, over 120,000 cwts. have been collected.

LEONARD WOOLF

OCTOBER 8th

Routine

2. *Bitter Salt* Held an enquiry into a curious case from Palatupana lewaya. The Salt Superintendent on 4th October reported that the salt in the lewaya had turned bitter (it does apparently sometimes there) and that he was returning to Bundala. Yesterday a large number of gatherers came and complained that they had collected salt on 3rd morning and evening and 4th morning and that it had all been rejected. I then ordered the Salt Superintendent to attend today with these men for enquiry. He then sent a letter reporting that the salt had been rejected because it was muddy. I held the enquiry today and was sorry to have to find against the superintendent. I do not think that there was proper supervision and cannot believe that if there had been the collectors could have collected between 400 and 500 bags of jet black salt. I ordered the Superintendent to pay the collectors for 400 bags but that if he were dissatisfied with my decision he should appeal to the G A. He is appealing.

*Note by
LSW His
appeal was
successful*

OCTOBER 9th

Routine

3. *Ploughing
at Tissa* The Tissa cultivators have begun to plough their fields with rain water. Father Coorenan who takes much interest in it and is going to plough the land belonging to the Roman Catholic Mission came to see me today. He has just returned from Tissa and thinks that the whole thing will be a complete success as the unbelievers (and there many) are becoming converted and are now wishing that they had bought ploughs. The price of untrained village bulls is also rising which is a good sign.

OCTOBER 10th SUNDAY

To Bundala in morning

OCTOBER 11th

To Magama inspecting many lands for sale on settlement and got to Tissa at 11. Circuit work in afternoon.

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OCTOBER 12th.

In morning went round from field to field inspecting the ploughing. On the whole it is highly satisfactory the people are ploughing with rain water in many cases and some of them are doing excellently. The ordinary cultivator is of course in many cases very trying to the temper : he likes to walk along leaning on the plough handle and making the sort of singing noise which is supposed to represent work, and allowing the bulls to wander where they list; the idea of cutting a straight furrow is abhorrent to his nature. But the satisfactory part of it is that the intelligent cultivators are now convinced of its utility although at first they were absolutely convinced that the ploughs were unworkable at Tissa and really they had more or less to be driven into it. Two or three of them came and told me today that even with the untrained bulls and inexperienced men it is better than mudding as it does the work better and quicker. They are already asking me to order them more ploughs. Another satisfactory sign is that even the ordinary goiya is convinced that he can work it. When I first began to press them to go in for it they said ' Our cattle can't pull these ploughs: you want elephants not bulls for these ploughs: if a man has to lift this plough (the climax) 5 times a day out of the earth he will get consumption.' I was told that some of these same people are now going to their gambarayas saying ' Don't you see that so and so has ploughs and is ploughing his fields ? Why don't you get us ploughs so that we can plough too?'

4. *Ploughing at Tissa.*

OCTOBER 13th.

In early morning went round again ploughing. Then rode on to Wirawila for breakfast and in evening to Hambantota (20 miles).

OCTOBER 14th.

Ditto.

OCTOBER 15th.

Ditto.

LEONARD WOOLF

OCTOBER 16th

Routine.

6 *Malaria
and quinine
distribution*

The following extract from the "Times" is interesting. It appeared on September 23rd.

MALARIA PREVENTION IN INDIA

To The Editor of The Times

Sir, I see with pleasure that the Government of India has decided to take vigorous action regarding the prevention of malaria, by ordering a conference to be held at Simla on October 11. There are, however, in India two bodies of opinion on the subject of malaria prevention, and I have reason to fear that one of them may not be adequately represented at the Conference. Perhaps you will permit me to explain the importance of the point.

We all agree, I think, that for rural areas quinine prophylaxis, assisted if possible by screening, is, broadly speaking, the most appropriate measure. but for towns and crowded areas opinion is divided—some advocating the same measures there also, but others preferring mosquito reduction. The latter measure has great and evident advantages. It tends to rid a town not only of malaria, but of other mosquito-borne diseases (one of which, filariasis, abounds in parts of India), and not only of these diseases, but of a persistent and ever-present pest which adds greatly to the discomforts of tropical life. It can be carried out by local authorities without troubling the public—a cardinal advantage in sanitary matters; and it helps to keep the whole town clean as well as healthy. On the other hand, quinine prophylaxis has, comparatively, many disadvantages. Merely to sell or give quinine at dispensaries and post offices is not sufficient, because the poor cannot afford the time to be constantly attending such places for small doses of the drug. In my experience, for the medicine to be really effective either for general treatment or prevention, it must actually be distributed gratis, or nearly so, from house to house;

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

and more than this, the occupants must be repeatedly urged to take it. We shall understand the difficulties here when we remember it must be persevered with for long periods to be really useful, that it causes unpleasant effects, and that most of the patients are children. In fact, this process of distribution and persuasion requires a number of special dispensers superintended by medical officers, and necessitates a considerable amount of interference with the public if the matter is to be taken seriously. Moreover, quinine prophylaxis influences malaria only, and does not relieve the public from the annoyance caused by mosquitoes, but adds the unpleasant effects of the drug to their other discomforts. In India, however, some writers claim for quinine prophylaxis that it is cheaper than mosquito reduction, and there is a tendency to accept this claim without question. It is probably true for rural areas, but I think absolutely untrue for crowded ones, where money spent on mosquito reduction is likely to give much greater benefit to the public than the same sum spent on quinine prophylaxis. The advocates of the latter measure always cite Italy as the great example of its success; but in Italy the malaria is principally rural, and the conditions differ much from those in India. On the other hand, mosquito reduction has been the chief measure used in the Panama Canal zone, Ismailia, and elsewhere, and is not nearly as expensive or difficult as its opponents pretend. I do not decry quinine prophylaxis; there is no real rivalry between it and mosquito reduction, and each ought to be used in its proper place—as I have described at length in various publications. Our great object is to combat the disease by every means in our power; but it will be a disaster for India if those who advocate a sole and universal quinine prophylaxis succeed in suppressing other and sometimes more appropriate measures. We can only hope, therefore, that full opportunities will be found at the conference for the expression of wider views. There appears not to be a single engineer among the members originally nominated. Medical men are apt to be biassed toward quinine prophylaxis because they naturally understand medicines better than drainage and public works—and for other reasons.

LEONARD WOOLF

Another important point is that the work should obviously be commenced in the towns, where a given expenditure is likely to benefit the largest number of people. On the other hand, the quininists seem to advocate an immense initial agrarian campaign, which will only exhaust the funds that can be better spent elsewhere.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

RONALD ROSS,

Professor of Tropical Medicine.

University of Liverpool, September 18.

Sometime ago there was a severe outbreak of fever in some villages in West Giruwa pattu and as the only course open to me I appointed paid distributors but I stopped it almost immediately as they are useless. I asked that if similar cases occurred again a special dispenser might be sent but was informed that this was impossible. I urged that it was a mere waste of quinine and time to give the powders to headmen or daily-paid distributors for distribution. In the first place the people don't take it and in the second it is quite unfair to expect an unpaid headman to spend the time required for a house to house visitation—which must after all be the only way of doing any good—besides all his other duties. As for distribution at dispensaries, people in the majority of cases only go to dispensaries when they are already ill. Both the D M O. Tangalle, Dr. Cooke and the Mudaliyar were agreed that it is only from a man of the class of a dispenser going round from house to house that the people will really take quinine as a prophylactic: they will only take it from a man they can call a 'Doctor'. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the whole amount of money spent in quinine distribution in this District has been wasted not for anyone's fault but because the system is wrong: and I imagine that that money would have paid for at least one dispenser who working regularly in one small area might have done much good. I was pleased to find that this view has high authority in Prof. Ross.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

OCTOBER 17th, Sunday.

OCTOBER 18th.

Routine.

OCTOBER 19th.

Do. Drove Ambalantota in evening 8 miles.

OCTOBER 20th.

Drove Hatagala and from there rode down by the Kalametiya Kalapuwa to the sea and by a sand track along the shore to Kahandamodera where I inspected the school and had an encroachment, a fence, cut down. Thence by the Gansabhawa path to Ranna about 15 miles in all. In evening walked up the fields to Katakaduwa in heavy rain.

7. *Kalametiya and Kahandamodera.*

OCTOBER 21st.

Circuit work in morning.

In afternoon rode to Rehawa and Netolpitiya by the gansabhawa path and from there drove to Tangalla where I met Mr. Horsburgh and Mr. Thurley, the Excise Commissioners.

OCTOBER 22nd.

Drove Mr. Horsburgh and Mr. Thurley to Beliyatta to inspect the tavern there. Circuit work.

OCTOBER 23rd.

Circuit work and return cricket match against Tangalla won by the latter.

OCTOBER 24th, SUNDAY.

To Kalawatta in afternoon circuit work.

OCTOBER 25th.

Rode Wiraketiya. On the way found a rinderpest stricken buffalo holding up all traffic. He began to charge the ponies. Mr. Hodson and I only had shot guns with us but attempted to destroy him with snipe shot. The only result was that he caught Mr. Hodson who only just escaped leaving his hat and

8. *Rinderpest*

LEONARD WOOLF

gun behind him on the field. Later my second cart with a rifle in it arrived and I shot him and also 3 others out of a particularly wild herd.

OCTOBER 26th.

9. *Wiraketiya, Kotawaya, Angunakolapelessa Ambalantota.*

Rode to Angunakolapelessa by a gansabhawa path through Hakuruwela where I inspected the school, Kotawaya and Julamulla. Terrible chena country from the river through Julamulla to Palugahawela. This must be 12 or 13 miles. In evening rode on to Ambalantota 11 miles.

OCTOBER 27th.

10. *Poaching*

Rode Hambantota in morning. Convicted a Hambantota townsman of possessing sambhur meat which he could not satisfactorily account for in the close season. I have for a long time wanted to catch one of these men and Malay town poachers and I gave him an exemplary sentence.

OCTOBER 28th.

Routine.

OCTOBER 29th and 30th.

Ditto.

OCTOBER 31st, SUNDAY

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.

A.G.A.

Miles travelled in District
Amount of vote
Balance

158
Rs. 1200.00
NIL

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

NOVEMBER 1909

NOVEMBER 1st.

Routine.

NOVEMBER 2nd.

The post of Sanitary Board Inspector salary Rs. 35 per month in Hambantota is vacant. I have had 85 applications mostly from Galle, Matara and Colombo, but one addressed to 'Ampantoddai' came from Karativu out of the Jaffna islands. They included a surveyor who had had his licence cancelled. None of them were suitable. I have made out a new scheme of officers under the board by which we shall have one inspector for Tangalla and Hambantota on Rs. 60 (and Rs. 25 travelling) : we may thus get a really qualified man.

1. *Sanitary Board Inspector.*

NOVEMBER 3rd.

All day in court with a civil case.

NOVEMBER 4th.

Reported to G.A. on the sanity of a man condemned to death for murder. In my opinion the story of his having been insane prior to the murder is fabricated. I got the papers at 6.30 a.m. by a special messenger from A.S.P. just as I was starting for Tissa on circuit to the game sanctuary to which I have for some time been intending to go to see how rinderpest there really is. Got to Tissa at 11.

2. *Julampitiya murder*

In evening went with one of the agricultural instructors to inspect ploughing. The work done by some of the pony ploughs is extraordinarily good.

3. *Tissa ploughing.*

NOVEMBER 5th.

Spent the morning inspecting most of the ploughed lands. A very considerable acreage has already been finished, some very good, some very bad, and some indifferent good.

LEONARD WOOLF

Also inspected the dispensary and post office, the latter a most laborious task.

NOVEMBER 6th

4 *Katagomuwa gal amuna*

To Katagomuwa 11 miles. In evening rode 4 miles through a very narrow path to the old gal amuna on the Menik ganga. There used to be an amuna here from which water was taken into the Katagomuwa tank and the old cla is distinct still. The river is very narrow here and it would be, I imagine, a very cheap work to restore. But the population is now non-existent: there are only 5 houses inhabited in Katagomuwa now; nearly all the people having gone to Kataragama. The remainder I suspect live by poaching.

NOVEMBER 7th, SUNDAY

5 *Talgasmankada*

To Talgasmankada. The work of clearing the jungle of dead buffaloes has been very well done by the watchers. I have scarcely seen a bone anywhere though I went down along the river purposely to see how things were. So far I have seen no buffaloes at all though I noticed tracks at Katagomuwa.

NOVEMBER 8th.

Went out morning and evening but saw no buffaloes and no carcasses. Plenty of deer about. Mr Hodson who is with me got two bucks and I one.

NOVEMBER 9th

6 *Yala*

Walked to Yala mostly by the river; saw no carcasses but a leopard jumped down from a tree within a few yards of us and got away before we could shoot. In the tree on a branch about 12 foot from the ground was a full grown buck half eaten. In evening saw 2 buffaloes quite healthy and heard 4 or 5 more coming back in the dark in heavy rain. Rinderpest has died out here among the wild buffaloes.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

NOVEMBER 10th.

Rode to Pallepota in the game sanctuary. Only saw 2 buffaloes where last time saw 40 or 50 but this is not perhaps entirely due to rinderpest or the grass is not grown up yet and the buffaloes are probably now still more north in the parts along the river. Large numbers of deer at Potana. 7. *The Game Sanctuary*

NOVEMBER 11th.

Rode 7 miles to Mandagala : saw 4 buffaloes healthy and one very old carcass. Walked to the tank which has an enormous breached bund and a wonderful old masonry sluice. In afternoon tried the caves for bear and leopard without success. Rode back in heavy rain. 8. *Mandagala.*

NOVEMBER 12th.

Rode to Yala 12 miles. In evening went out and got a splendid pig quite healthy. I heard that a Mr. O'Reilly who with a Mr. Abercrombie were bicycling round the Island armed with a revolver and small hatchet and who insisted upon going through the game sanctuary was attacked by a pig at Kumana and badly hurt. His companion despatched the pig with the hatchet, and Mr. O'Reilly has been removed to a hospital in the Batticaloa district. 9. *Yala*

NOVEMBER 13th.

To Buttawa. Met the famous Buttawa Elephant and saw plenty of deer. In evening went out to Vilapalawewa and got a very fine stag.

NOVEMBER 14th.

To Vilapalawewa for breakfast before which we went out to some caves for bear or leopard. Mr. Hodson hit a leopard in the jungle and we tracked it to a cave but could only see its tail as it lay inside behind a rock. I had a shot at the tail to try and bring it out but it would not move. Mr. Engelbrecht got a long stick and prodded it over the stone and after biting the end off the stick it moved to the back of the cave into view. 10. *Vilapalawewa*

LEONARD WOOLF

Mr. Hodson had another shot but unsuccessfully and then I had one. It tried to charge out but fell dead just outside the cave the shot having gone through the lungs.

Saw 4 tame buffaloes and 3 (apparently) wild, today. Went on to Palatupana, which we reached in darkness

NOVEMBER 15th.

11 *Kirinda* To Kirinda where I inspected books, salt stores and the new school which is to be opened here

12. *Rinderpest* On the whole I think the conditions of the reserve and sanctuary is better than might have been expected. It is true that I have not seen 25 buffaloes though I went about to look for them where last time I must have seen two or three hundred, but in many places I saw plenty of tracks and there is now no sign of the disease anywhere. The way the jungle has been cleared of carcasses reflects much credit on Mr. Engelbrecht and his watchers. One thing however is certain and that is that no licenses to shoot buffaloes should be issued for two or three years here. One of my objects on this circuit was to decide whether to prohibit all shooting of sambhur in the same way as large numbers are said to have died of rinderpest. I have decided that such prohibition is not necessary - there are sambhur in abundance although they are practically all does that I saw, or young bucks. Mr. Engelbrecht tells me that nearly all those which died round Yala were old bucks.

In evening to Tissa.

NOVEMBER 16th.

13. *Irrigation meeting
land sale
Tissa* Held meeting of proprietors and passed a rule admitting of 2 weeks extension of cultivation being allowed by A G A. The people also now passed a rule making fencing obligatory.

Land sale in afternoon rather successful. The land which I found at the Yatala Dagoba had for years been leased out to

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

people and the rent of which I am making the trustees disgorge put up for sale. It was bought by the trustees for over Rs. 900.

In evening to Wirawila.

NOVEMBER 17th.

Drove into Hambantota.

Government has approved the recommendation that chenas 14. *Chenas* are not to be completely disallowed to villagers finally settled and that certain portions shall be set apart for chenaing in villages which need it. I see from the Galle Kachcheri file which was sent to me for my information that the G.A. reports that I am continually writing in to say that the villagers must have chenas or they will starve. I have of course never made such a statement which would be quite untrue. No people in Ceylon starve except a few Tamil coolies who are driven off or leave estates in Sinhalese Districts. But it is true that there are not a few villages in this District in which if chenas are disallowed the villages will gradually die out not from starvation but by a slow process of extinction which will undoubtedly be accompanied by a considerable amount of distress. There are village tanks in these villages, and I am compelling the people to restore them, and the people are restoring them: but they very rarely get a supply of water which makes cultivation possible. There are no gardens and no coconut trees and no wells or if there are wells, there is no water in them for 9 months out of 12. These villages do not lie on the main roads but anyone who rides 15 miles due north of Hambantota will see two or three of them surrounded not by a 'sea of chena' but by scrub jungle a great deal of which has probably not been chenaed for ages. It does not appear to be facing facts to refuse these people chenas except in 'extreme and extraordinary circumstances' because kurakkan heats the stomach. The facts to be faced are that the people will not leave their villages unless they are driven to the last extremity and that in 5 years out of six, nothing will grow except a chena crop. If chenas therefore are not allowed in 5 years out of 6 in such villages it means that there is considerable hardship. The men wander off to Uva

LEONARD WOOLF

and Sabaragamuwa to try and get chenas there and the women and children who are left and the people who don't get chenas at all gather jungle fruit or chena illicitly. I imagine that enough kurakkan and pumpkins are more healthy than too little kurakkan and palu fruit. Too little food and fever will reduce the villages and some villagers will, when they cannot stand it any longer, permanently leave their villages for places like Uva and Sabaragamuwa where they can get chenas. I do not say that there are no agreements for holding that this is the best solution of the whole question, but I do say that these are facts which should be understood and admitted.

NOVEMBER 18th

Routine.

NOVEMBER 19th.

Routine.

15 *Devil
Sickness*

Went round the town with Mudaliyar in evening inspecting wells, tavern and opium shop I found the well keeper obviously unwell and asked him what was the matter. He said 'Yak leda' devil sickness It appears he went to look at the wells by night and in the dark ran against what he thought was a devil but which turned out to be an old woman He has been ill ever since

NOVEMBER 20th.

Routine.

NOVEMBER 21st, SUNDAY

By coach in early morning to Ranna, snipe extraordinarily plentiful Drove on to Tangalla in afternoon.

NOVEMBER 22nd.

16. *Tangalla*

Inspected town for 3 hours, including the site chosen for the slaughter-house which has been objected to by the DE. Held Sanitary Board meeting for Tangalla, members to give their opinion on the site. they unanimously approved it Inspected opium shop, bazaars &c. Held sale of opium rent.

In afternoon to Ambalantota.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

NOVEMBER 23rd.

Rode with Mudaliyar to Beminiyanwila and inspected the drainage channel. I have had many complaints about this from cultivators that owing to the Irrigation Department not having cleared it in time they could not cultivate their fields. I found that the channel was still not cleared and that a fair extent of fields were still submerged though it is two weeks since the cultivation period ended. 11 coolies were at work. On many of the fields the water had only lately subsided and people were mudding their fields 14 days after the due time—for which one can scarcely blame them. It is cases like this which put the people against cultivation periods.

17. *Beminiyanwila drainage channel.*

In afternoon held election of Vel Vidanes and selection of a V.A. A number of complaints and petitions which occupied me for 3 hours mostly about insufficient supply of water from the Walawe works, but one regarding a matter much to be regretted. There are large extents of fields on both sides of the modara which are irrigated by the blocking up of the mouth of the river. When water is no longer wanted on these fields the modara is cut and the water let out. It appears that a week ago the people on the Magampattu side of the river who no longer wanted water went down to the modara and despite the protests of the vidana arachchi and others cut the modara at the wrong place. The people say that years ago the modara was once cut at this place and for seven years there was no cultivation as it was found impossible to block it up again. I am having the offenders prosecuted and have also ordered them to supply timber, branches, 500 gunny bags and 500 baskets in order that as soon as a favourable opportunity arises the breach may be repaired. The V.As. have orders to call out all persons in the villages concerned as soon as the opportunity arises. I am going out to the place on Sunday.

18. *The Walawe Modara*

In evening to Hambantota.

NOVEMBER 24th.

Routine.

LEONARD WOOLF

NOVEMBER 25th

Ditto.

NOVEMBER 26th

19 60-Day
Paddy for
Tissa

I have obtained 120 bushels of 60-day paddy from the Government Agent at Batticaloa and am sending it out to Tissa. The people are going to purchase it and sow it this maha for seed paddy for next yala, the new rule being that only 60-day paddy is to be sown for yala.

NOVEMBER 27th

Routine

NOVEMBER 28th, Sunday

20 Walawe
Modara

To Ambalantota and the modara early in morning a vast crowd of people. Everything has been supplied except gunny bags and baskets. Prosecutions will now be entered unless these are supplied. As a matter of fact I doubt whether it will be possible to block the modara before January.

NOVEMBER 29th & 30th

Routine

Sgd L. S. Woolf.
A G A

Miles travelled in District circuit	205
Travelling allowance Vote	Rs 1200 00
Balance	NIL

DECEMBER 1909

DECEMBER 1st

Routine

DECEMBER 2nd

1 Rainfall

The November rains in Hambantota itself have completely failed. The average rainfall for the month is 6.75 inches, $1\frac{1}{2}$ " more than any other month. This year it was 0.40. The

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

Failure has not been quite so bad elsewhere but the rainfall has certainly been below the average in this important month everywhere I think.

DECEMBER 3rd.

Routine.

DECEMBER 4th.

In afternoon to Ambalantota to visit the modara. An ^{2. The} unsuccessful attempt to block it up had been made yesterday. *Walawa* *Modara.* The people who cut it have been prosecuted and fined and all bags, baskets, timber &c. have now been supplied. Went on to Ranna in evening.

DECEMBER 5th, SUNDAY.

At Ranna.

DECEMBER 6th.

Started 6 a.m. and drove and bicycled to the modara at Ambalantota. I found the headmen and people there beginning to try to block it up. They wanted me to stay and watch it but I had the Kachcheri safe keys and so had to go on to Hambantota which I reached 9.30 a.m. Worked in Kachcheri until 3.30 and then rode out to the modara again down by the sea and across Diyagasgoda. Found that the people had just succeeded in completing the dam, and the modara was blocked. About 150 men had been turned out to work. It has taken 2 weeks to do what they said was impossible at this time of the year and what according to the general account took 7 years to do, when the modara was last cut in this place. It was typical that after everything was over the Magampattu people told me that the whole story was untrue and that the modara had never remained unblocked for seven years. However, they admitted that it had never been cut in that place before in their remembrance. Rode up to Ambalantota and then bicycled into Hambantota which I reached in the full fury of the burst of the monsoon at 7 having done about 40 miles.

LEONARD WOOLF

DECEMBER 7th.

Routine.

DECEMBER 8th and 9th.

Ditto.

DECEMBER 10th.

3. *Rinderpest.*

A case of rinderpest in the town. 2 galas are infected. Went down and had all carts and bulls detained, and made arrangements to send on some under police escort. This case appears to have been brought here from Tissa where I still fail to stamp out the disease. I am again going to close the Tissa-Wirawila road I do not dare boast yet but I really think the disease is going to be stopped at West Giruwa pattu. There are very few cases there. Unfortunately the wet weather which has now begun in earnest seems to be very bad for the disease.

DECEMBER 11th

Most of the day in court trying civil cases. Mr Lock and Mr. Bamber arrived by motor from Haputale.

DECEMBER 12th, SUNDAY.

Went with Mr Lock and Bamber by motor to Tissa to examine a small extent of cotton there. They then went on to Haputale and I bicycled and drove back to Hambantota (40 miles).

DECEMBER 13th.

Routine.

DECEMBER 14th.

4. *The Walane Modara.*

I heard on Saturday that owing to a tremendous flood in the river and to some people having removed some of the sticks from the dam I had constructed, the water broke over the place where I had blocked the modara. I saw the Mudaliyar today and find that not so much damage as had at first been expected has occurred the place having silted up again. It looks however as if there may still be trouble here.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

DECEMBER 15th.

Routine.

DECEMBER 16th.

I hear that Mr. Hodson, A.S.P. Tangalla, is being transferred to Matara. I regret this very much especially at the present moment. It really looks as if rinderpest is going to be stamped out in West Giruwa pattu but just at the end efforts have to be increased rather than relaxed. At any rate we have certainly saved large numbers of cattle by enforcing the regulations and if continued I see no reason why the whole of Nakulugamuwa, Galagampalata (nearby) and the Matara District should not get off free. This result is in no small measure due to Mr. Hodson who for 6 months has worked the whole of the West Giruwa pattu regulations for me. It is also a pity I think that he is being moved so quickly from the point of view of crime. He was very keen on reducing the crime in the Tangalla District, and given time there is every likelihood that he would have reduced it.

5. *The A.S.P. Tangalla.*

In evening drove to Weligatta.

DECEMBER 17th.

Rode to Tissa via Andella pattu. Held election of velvidane, Magama.

DECEMBER 18th.

Rode Palatupana lewaya about 9 or 10 miles, and enquired into a question of watchers there who say they cannot weigh salt. I said that they could all go on January 18th and I would get men to take their place. Inspected gravel road which I am making round the lewaya and rode to Kirinda 4 miles. In afternoon rode to Bundala 6 miles.

6. *Palatupana*

DECEMBER 19th, SUNDAY.

Spent the whole morning from 6 to 10.30 a.m. walking through the jungle at Maha Eliya, Gonagama wila and then on to Tellula and back to Bundala.

LEONARD WOOLF

In afternoon rode back to Hambantota after inspecting new salt stores at Bundala (9 miles).

DECEMBER 20th - 22nd.

Routine.

DECEMBER 23rd.

Holiday.

DECEMBER 24th.

Holiday. To Tissa

DECEMBER 25th.

Tissa.

DECEMBER 26th.

To Wirawila

DECEMBER 27th.

To Hambantota

DECEMBER 28th.

Holiday An attack of fever on 16th lasted until today.

DECEMBER 29th, 30th, 31st.

Routine and fever

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.

A G.A

Miles travelled in District circuits 190.

Balance under Travelling Vote of
the Assistant Government Agent NIL.

DIARY FOR 1910

JANUARY 1910

JANUARY 1st - 3rd.
Holidays.

JANUARY 4th.
Routine.

JANUARY 5th.

Drove Wirawila to prepare buildings &c. for Lord Dudley's 1. *Wirawila*. party. Found everything going on well. Rode on to Tissa evening : rain nearly all day.

JANUARY 6th.

Rode Wirawila and back in morning. Enquiry in afternoon.

JANUARY 7th.

News of murder at Ranakeliya. Rode out at once about 2. *Reported murder.* 5 miles in heavy rain and spent the whole morning enquiring. I do not like the case at all as it is apparently very simple and yet I cannot get at the truth. The accused's story is that he heard what he thought was pig eating his Indian corn at night and fired at the sound. This was midnight of the 5th : On 6th morning at 11 a.m. information is given to the PO by one Babuna that he had found the body of his cultivator lying in the paddy field outside the accused's house. There are many small points which show that I have not got the truth yet.

Continued enquiry in afternoon. In evening went over to Wirawila. Lord Dudley is not after all coming. The ADC and a friend had arrived. Rode back to Tissa 10 p.m.

JANUARY 8th.

Rode out to scene of murder again in heavy rain. Enquired all the morning and afternoon. Case still doubtful. Rode to Wirawila in evening.

LEONARD WOOLF

JANUARY 9th.
Drove Hambantota.

JANUARY 10th.
Routine.

JANUARY 11th.
Ditto.

JANUARY 12th.

3. *The
Murder case.*

There is no doubt now I think that the Tissa Case is not one of murder. The deceased does appear to have entered accused's garden to steal Indian corn and to have been shot by accused in the dark. I suspect that accused knew it was a man he fired at, but there is no real evidence.

JANUARY 13th.
Holiday.

JANUARY 14th.
Routine.

JANUARY 15th.
Routine.

JANUARY 16th - 22nd.
Examination in Colombo.
Returned Tangalla on 22nd.

JANUARY 23rd, SUNDAY.

Spent most of the day doing piles of tappal which I find awaiting me.

JANUARY 24th.

4. *Circuit
Work,
Tangalla*

Inspected town and encroachments with Mudaliyar and DE from 7 to 10 a.m. Sanitary Board meeting to vote money for 1910. Then long DRC meeting to do the same. Then 3 hours consulting with proctor and advocate *re* tomorrow's case which a purchaser of land from the Crown is bringing to eject a claimant. I do not feel at all happy about this case.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

Later went round Moorish quarter with Sanitary Inspector. The people came and asked me to build them a latrine, a unique request in this District.

JANUARY 25th.

Rode with Mudaliyar to Unahuruwa and saw a most interesting spectacle. The women of this village swim out about 300 yards from the shore and then dive down and fish up big coral stones. They swim back with these stones and stack them in heaps called fathoms 6' by 6' by 6'. They are sold for building purposes and for lime at Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 per fathom. The output is about 300 fathoms a year and about 12,400 women work off and on. The stones lie in 6 to 12 feet of water. The divers told me that they never get fever, which confirms my belief that sea bathing helps to keep off malaria.

5. *Diving women.*

In court most of the day in connection with the land case and then did exemptions.

Bicycled and rode to Ambalantota (18 miles) in evening.

JANUARY 26th.

Drove Hambantota.

JANUARY 27th.

The Forest Ranger tells me he saw a female elephant with 3 young of which two were tuskers, one was about 4' the other 2 years and the third only lately born. There is also a fairly big tusker at Yala which I have seen myself, one near Katagomuwa and another round Wirawila. It is probable that tuskers used to be shot off illicitly and that this was one reason for their scarcity and that now the presence of the ranger and watchers prevent this—hence their increase.

6. *Tuskers.*

JANUARY 28th.

Routine. Rode to Arabokka and back after Kachcheri.

LEONARD WOOLF

JANUARY 29th.

Routine

7. *Mr. Haji
Salam
Robertson*

Presided at a lecture delivered by Mr. Hadji Salam Robertson on the Mohamedan religion. Most of the Moors and Malays attended but I rather doubt whether they understood much of it. Mr. Robertson told me that he was converted to Mohamedanism just after getting his company in the Leicestershire regiment. He belongs to the Liverpool Mission.

JANUARY 30th, SUNDAY

8. *The
Hakim of
Hambantota*

Much ill feeling and unpleasantness has been caused among the Mohamedans in Hambantota over the selection of a Hakim in place of Doole Mudaliyar. His son Doole Mudaliyar lately appointed to East Giruwa pattu was selected by some of them while others wish Bahar Mudaliyar to be appointed. The dispute which was conducted with a certain amount of unseemliness led to the birth of what are called factions, a form of trouble and disorder which is much liked in the villages of this District and which I am at great pains to stop. I was recently able completely to break up the most troublesome 'factions' in the district at Morahetiara and I hope on my next circuit in West Giruwa pattu to break up the only remaining one at Kudawellekele about which there was recently an absurd petition to Government. I was therefore particularly anxious not to allow them to get a fair start in Hambantota, especially as there were all the elements of bitterness in this, as one party was largely composed of what are called here the Karawa Mohamedans who are said to have been excommunicated from the old mosque and who built and now attend a mosque of their own. It was however difficult to do anything as of course it was impossible to interfere in a religious dispute. But as both parties eventually came to me, I had a meeting today at my bungalow with the leaders of the two parties and the trustees of the two mosques. There is no doubt that the people themselves are quite ready for a settlement and to choose a Hakim who will be acceptable to both parties. They admitted that if it were not for the principals there would be no disagreement

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

I am sorry to say that the man who stands most in the way of such a settlement is Doole Mudaliyar himself. The meeting effected nothing actual but I think it did good in that I made it clear to them that I would not allow the formation of factions in Hambantota headed by two of the chief Mohamedan Government officers. It also may lead to an eventual settlement because it showed that the rank and file of both sides are quite ready to agree.

JANUARY 31st.

Routine.

Prof. Dunstan arrived in the afternoon and I went out with him and Mr. Daniel in the evening.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A.

Miles travelled in district	140
Total paid in January on account of travelling	Rs. 42.50

FEBRUARY 1910

FEBRUARY 1st.

Spent most of the morning with Prof. Dunstan who was a mine of information as to what things might be turned into local industries. He was very interested in the turtles of which there are many round the coast, as dried turtle flesh fetches high prices at home.

1. Prof. Dunstan.

2. Hambantota should be a good locality for a turtle farm "like those worked in Japan."

FEBRUARY 2nd.

Routine.

FEBRUARY 3rd.

Rode to Medagama and appointed Crown fields for Yala cultivation. Back by Diyagasgoda.

LEONARD WOOLF

FEBRUARY 4th

2 *Rinderpest*

To Galle to attend meeting of committee to frame rules under new Contagious Diseases (Animals) Ordinance

FEBRUARY 5th

To Kandy

FEBRUARY 6th, SUNDAY

To Bandarawela

FEBRUARY 7th

Meeting of Committee To Colombo

FEBRUARY 8th

To Galle

FEBRUARY 9th

Tangalla

FEBRUARY 10th

3 *The Law s delay*

The Mudaliyar W G P returned from Colombo today from his seventh visit to that town at Government expense in connection with a Supreme Court criminal case in which he was summoned to give evidence but was never called. The case was postponed seven times and was at last heard on February 7th. Two witnesses were heard and then the Crown Counsel asked leave to withdraw and the accused were discharged.

Circuit work and exemptions Inspection of town

FEBRUARY 11th

4 *The Kudawellekelle dispute*

Drove Kudawellekelle at 7 a m to hold an enquiry and to try to settle a dispute between the villagers and the Court Interpreter, Tangalla, about some land which has caused an enormous amount of litigation and trouble. Both sides agreed to submit the matter to me for arbitration. An extent of 48 acres of land is in dispute. I had very little difficulty in determining title. 18 acres to the Interpreter and 30 acres to the

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

villagers. But as long as the Interpreter owns the 18 acres there will be trouble so I induced the villagers to agree to buy him out, he being quite ready to sell. We then assessed the land. It took from 10 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. to get an agreement and at 3.30 the villagers agreed to pay Rs. 5000 in two annual instalments. I am going back to Tangalla on February 27th to see a legal agreement drawn up. I got to the village at 8 a.m. and did not get away until 4 p.m. working hard in a crowd of about 250 excited partisans the whole time.

FEBRUARY 12th.

Rode by Gansabhawa path through Kadurupokuna to 5. *Palapota*. Palapota where a new school is to be built. The villagers however have run up a new building on a site other than the one chosen by me and they offer to hand it over to Government. There is some game on which I don't understand over this school, so I refused it unless it is put up in the site selected by me.

Rode on to Puwakdandawa and Kahawatte. In afternoon about 600 people came up for exemption.

FEBRUARY 13th, SUNDAY.

In morning drove to Galagama, the only village of any 6. *Galagama*. size which I have not previously been to. Inspected a tank and a Wesleyan School.

Tappal and enquiries in afternoon.

FEBRUARY 14th.

Drove and rode to Wiraketiya inspecting the Pallatura 7. *Kahawatta, Wiraketiya*. School (it is really in Ihala Beligalla) and many village tanks *en route*. We have dug and built a fine well at Mulkirigala. The 6½ miles took me 4 hours.

400 applicants for exemption in the afternoon. The sun in the morning brought back fever again.

LEONARD WOOLF

FEBRUARY 15th.

8 *Irrigation* As I still had fever, stayed indoors. In afternoon held an irrigation meeting to frame rules under the Urubokka Scheme. No difficulties here except administration i.e., the distribution is very unsatisfactory. It is a curious thing that the proprietors who are after all the people affected one and all would rather have the whole distribution in the hands of the headmen than in those of the Irrigation Officers. The *distribution from the Urubokka stream* is a most difficult thing to regulate as so often the people higher up detain water which is meant to go to fields right down the stream. Filching of water in this way has, according to the proprietors, increased greatly since the distribution was taken out of the Mudalyar's hands. This is a work which should never have been handed over to the *Director of Irrigation*. The *Irrigation Engineer in charge* lives 26 miles away and practically can exercise no supervision, as he visits it even less often than the A G A. The only resident *Irrigation Officer* is an *Irrigation Superintendent*. There is no doubt that the handing over of schemes like Walawe and Tissa where there are *Irrigation Engineers* on the spot make for efficiency. but the handing over of schemes like the Urubokka and Kirama, where there is no adequate supervision and the confusion caused by the irrigation headmen being for months really under nobody at all have done no little harm. However, as soon as the rules are passed, and the headmen are again under my control, I shall be able to go into the question of a better system of distribution.

9. 1826-1910. Mr. Lewis whom I met in Kandy has lent me a most interesting book by J.W. Bennett who appears to have been A G A, Hambantota in 1826 and 1827. It is most extraordinary how unhealthy Hambantota itself seems to have been in those days. The *Commandant* and his wife both died of fever and Bennett himself very nearly did so. He states that "there was scarcely a house without someone or other of its inmates dead or dying and so destitute was the place including the *Government Stores*, that there was not even a plank or the means of sawing a tree into planks for coffins for my departed friends to be got

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in the District, but it so happened that I possessed some slabs of satinwood which had been partly prepared for a set of dinner tables by carpenters whom I had hired from Morottoo a distance of 162 miles : but in consequence of three out of the four dying almost immediately after their arrival, the tables had been left unfinished and thus the last sad offices of humanity were accidentally provided for". The station was so unhealthy that after the deaths of Captain Driburg and his wife on the same day 8th October 1826 the Deputy Adjutant General decided not to send any officer to command the garrison. It is very difficult to account for the difference between Hambantota then and now for the town itself and its immediate surroundings appear to have changed very little : possibly we now keep even villages like Hambantota in a more sanitary condition than our forefathers and our hospitals and dispensaries help to keep down the mortality from fever.

FEBRUARY 16th.

To Walasmulla most of the way on foot by a gansabhawa path through Uradameliya and Galahitiyawa inspecting tanks.

I have always maintained that certain villages in Magam-10. *Chenas.* pattu and East Giruwa pattu will even after settlement require chenas. On the other hand I have been certain in my own mind that all villages west of the Urubokka, to some of which, being unsettled, chenas have always been allowed, do not really require them. I accordingly after the recent order of Government proclaimed that no chenas would be granted by me to anyone west of the Urubokka. The VA of Marakada represented that it would cause distress among villagers of Buddiyagama and Keppetiyawa : he was supported by the Mudaliyar. I told him to meet me today with all such people in the villages themselves. We went with each man to the house in which he lived and enquired into his circumstances. The result was that the Mudaliyar and VA had to admit that there was not a man among them who required chenas.

400 persons presented themselves for exemption in afternoon.

LEONARD WOOLF

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400 persons presented themselves for exemption in afternoon.

LEONARD WOOLF

FEBRUARY 17th.

11. *Bowela
and
Walasmulla*

Rode to Bowela by the gansabhawa path and inspected the school. There have been a few cases of rinderpest again $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from Walasmulla Rest House and I inspected the gala.

12. *Walas-
mulla enter-
tainment*

In¹ afternoon put up 80 lots for sale from Warapitiya village. A large crowd present in the middle of the proceedings the crowd parted and an old man with one side of his face shaved and the other side unshaven rushed into the ring and fell at my feet. He complained that the barber in the bazaar (and he is apparently the only one in Walasmulla) after shaving one half of his face had refused to shave the other unless he paid 50 cents. The price of a shave in Walasmulla is 5 cents. The barber was sent for and appeared accompanied by some hundreds of spectators. The decision was that he was to complete the shave and to be paid nothing and that if he cut the old man he was to pay 50 cents. The operation was completed under a coconut tree in the compound before a vast crowd of spectators. The old man was in deadly earnest, the barber who had the face of a rogue and a humourist said nothing but appeared vastly amused. This incident is typical of not a few of the 'enquiries' which take place on circuit in villages.

FEBRUARY 18th.

Moderawana

Drove to Moderawana to inspect the new school which I have opened there. It is a pleasant place and the school should eventually be a large one.

I met Mr. Ratnayake there a local landowner and induced him to make an experiment with cotton this yala.

FEBRUARY 19th.

14 *Kirama*

To Kirama by the Gansabhawa path through Bowela and then by Namaneliya Radeniara path. I went to Buwelagoda where there have been 5 cases of rinderpest, destroyed 3 buffaloes and dismissed the PO who is a worthless man. Got to Kirama at past 11 a.m. and met the acting DI there. A land sale and large number of exemptions in afternoon. Mr German

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

de Silva, Irrigation Superintendent, appeared and made complaint to me and the DI about sale of land and clearing of chenas at Saputantirikanda. I was very glad of this as it led to my discovering that the VA had recommended a chena on land declared Crown. Sold and settled 80 lots at Warapitiya and Saputantirikanda.

FEBRUARY 20th.

Rode to Warapitiya and finished my inspection of the 15. *Chenas*. village which I began last September. Inspected the new school which I have built there and in the afternoon I suspended the VA for allowing the chena on land declared Crown preparatory to reporting him to the GA. He is an old headman with a good record and much influence, and I do not want him to be dismissed but it was a good opportunity of creating a sensation. The news spread with extraordinary rapidity for in about five minutes all the minor headmen and many villagers appeared and prayed that he should not be dismissed. Two or three of them wept copiously. I refused to commit myself and they very reluctantly went away.

FEBRUARY 21st.

To Katuwana. Usual circuit work as usual greatly increased 16. *Katuwana* by the quarrels between Mr. Wirasinghe junior and the villagers. He has also cut away part of a Gansabhawa road in order to put up a row of boutiques. Probably because of this he was not in Katuwana but his father who is a Muhandiram was present. He agreed to obey my orders—whether he will, remains to be seen on my circuit in June.

FEBRUARY 22nd.

A long ride to Talawa inspecting the new school which 17. *Talaw* I have built at Middeniya, many tanks at Amudamana and the well at Kudagoda. Inspected the school at Talawa, examined candidates for the post of VA Paranagampalata vacant owing to the death of the old pattu arachchi. Did exemptions and tried some irrigation cases.

LEONARD WOOLF

FEBRUARY 23rd

18. *Chenas*

Owing to the decision of Government with regard to allowing chenas in villages declared crown by the SO, I have decided to inspect every village personally and to enquire into its circumstances on the spot with regard to chenas. Started 6.30 and rode through Uswewa to Abesekeragama and Siyambalakatuwa which two villages and Kalawelwewa I inspected minutely, and the inhabitants. The Government decision is *one which it is very difficult to carry out in practice. It is very difficult or impossible to say that at any particular time there is 'dire necessity'.* The facts are that there is no work for the people in the villages, and the village tanks fill only once in 5 or 10 years. Hitherto there has not been really any serious attempt to stop chenas and it is quite clear that vast areas have been chenaed which never appeared in the returns. A serious attempt is now being made to stop or restrict it. The problem then arises what are these people to do and what am I to do with them. Is it a case of dire necessity if the village will eventually be depopulated by emigration or if chenas are stopped? What often happens is that some of the people go away and others (the men) go to Sabaragamuwa and chena there from October to February and return after the chena season to their villages. This latter course is what causes most hardship and it is a remedy which entails the very disease (chenaing), though in another District, which Government wants to stamp out. From the terms of the Government decision I do not understand that I am authorised to allow chenas in say 3 years out of 5 in these villages, and yet nothing can be more certain than that if the Government order is really carried out in the next five years, a large area must become depopulated. Nor have I any doubt that a scheme is perfectly feasible by which chenaing can be restricted to a minimum and the population of this part of the district allowed to chena, but it would require a continuous policy for at least five years and a continuous personal supervision for the same period.

I got back to Uswewa school at 11.30 a.m. where I had lunch. This is another new school which I have opened. In the



Virginia Woolf

From a photograph taken at the age of seventeen.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

evening rode back to Talawa by a jungle track through uninhabited villages Wijesingama, Dissawegegama, Suriyapokuna which joins the DRC road at Debokkawa. I reckon that my pony had done well over 25 miles over bad roads in the hottest and driest part of a hot and dry pattu.

FEBRUARY 24th.

Bicycled to Anugunakolapelessa inspecting tanks, wells and chenas at various places. Circuit work in afternoon and rode to Mulana wewa and back.

FEBRUARY 25th.

Rode by jungle paths to inspect *re* chenas Mahawela, Vidanegegama, Gamaralagegama and Wadumestirigama. That 19. *Chenas*
my statements made above are not exaggerated or imaginary is proved I think by the following facts. The villages of Mahawela and Vidanegegama were settled in 1908 and the beginning of 1909. In 1891 the population was 27 belonging to 7 families, in 1901 it was 41 belonging to 9 families. Chenas were stopped in 1908. There are now only 4 families who supported themselves last year by chenaing a land at Bedigantota in Magampattu which is claimed by a man of Galle but is undoubtedly Crown. Three families emigrated—one to Welipitiya in East Giruwa pattu and two to West Giruwa pattu last year according to the villagers. In Gamaralagegama an enterprising man had planted his garden with 20 or 30 coconut trees : only one was bearing and that had one small nut on it. The rest were in a miserable condition, most of them badly attacked by beetles. He had dug a well in his garden in order to be able to water his plantation but it is dry for the greater part of the year. Two years ago after many years there was a certain amount of water in the tank so they started to cultivate an acre or so. The water was insufficient and no crop was reaped. The man who planted the coconuts ' used to be considered a man of wealth ' one of the villagers explained as he had 50 buffaloes : ' he is now a poor man ' as rinderpest killed them all off. Rode back to Angunakolapelessa through Bopelessa.

Rode Ranna in evening.

LEONARD WOOLF

FEBRUARY 26th.

Circuit work. Inspected Kahandamodara Gansabhawa Road which has been repaired.

FEBRUARY 27th

Drove Tangalla and on way walked up to Pattupola Mahawewa. Inspected jail and hospital Tangalla.

20 *Kudawellekele dispute.*

Meeting to draft terms of agreement to settle the Kudawellekele dispute, attended by all parties and their proctors. A curious position arose. At Kudawellekele it was agreed that Mr. Wickremasuriya's opponents should pay him Rs 5,000 and that everyone now in possession should continue and pay his quota of the Rs. 5,000. Nine chief villagers were put forward to sign the deed. Now, some of the people in possession (who are entitled to planter's share) are not liked by the nine chief villagers and the latter have since my visit to Kudawellekele, been going round saying "When we have paid the Rs 5,000 we shall be full owners and we'll turn you out of the land". This is of course against the understanding arrived at in Kudawellekele and I refused to allow any agreement to be signed unless all the people in possession were safeguarded. The nine refused to give any pledges. I therefore arranged that a list should be made of all persons in possession and their holdings assessed in order that each might pay his proportionate share of the Rs 5,000. I am afraid that this will not settle the whole dispute, for the nine or some of them will now stand out and begin to litigate against Mr. Wickremasuriya. I told them however that if they begin again their disorderly conduct, punitive police will have to be quartered in the village.

21. *Forestry.*

I saw Mr. Fyers the ACF at the Rest House. He has been inspecting Katahaduwa forest and the sea of chena which surrounds it. He tells me that although we stop chenas, it is quite impossible for any big trees to grow unaided. He wants to try an experiment with 50 or 100 acres to see whether the forest cannot be extended by planting. The experiment would only require about Rs. 1,000. It certainly should be tried, for it is

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

obviously not of much use stopping chenaing if the result will be only that the land will remain covered with the useless scrub jungle as it is at present.

Mr. Nathanielsz the DE deserves great credit in my opinion for the present state of the Tangalla Road. I drove from Tangalla to Ranna 8 miles in under an hour, this would have been absolutely impossible 12 months ago. It is now a first class road, 12 months ago it was scarcely a road at all. 22. *Roads.*

FEBRUARY 28th.

Drove Ambalantota. On way walked up the Hongama and Pallegama fields inspecting tanks and channels under the Walawe Scheme.

Circuit work. In evening walked up to Diyagasgoda to inspect some buffaloes in a segregation camp. A new outbreak of rinderpest. Got back at 7.30 p.m.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A

Miles travelled in district circuits	250
Travelling vote	Rs. 1200.00
Balance	1157.50

MARCH 1910

MARCH 1st.

Drove from Ambalantota to Hambantota.

MARCH 2nd.

The usual accumulations after a long circuit which always require three good days of 12 hours work each to dispose of.

MARCH 3rd.

The Mudaliyar M. P. and Mr. de Zilva both told me that the crop on all lands ploughed at Tissa is far better than usual. One man who is accustomed to reap 12 fold expects to reap 23. *Ploughing at Tissa.*

LEONARD WOOLF

30 fold this year It, at any rate, is satisfactory as proving that the work was properly done and also because there is now a great probability that the people will permanently adopt these ploughs and that the trouble spent on last year's experiments will not be merely a ploughing of the sand There is still the difficulty to get over of preparing the fields after ploughing The cultivators sent by Messrs Walkers were not a success and many persons used mamotties to level the fields and others used a few buffaloes This of course increases the cost greatly When I was in Colombo last month, I got Walkers' man to show me his stock of harrows and cultivators and went out with him to a field outside Colombo to try them As far as I can see, the ordinary tooth harrow is the most suitable for Tissa I have had 3 sent down here and they will be tried during the coming yala cultivation

MARCH 4th

Routine

MARCH 5th

Routine after which I rode to Bundala

MARCH 6th, SUNDAY

2. *IE Tissa* Rode to Tissa where I met the acting DI Mr Balfour I regret very much to hear that Mr Hamer the Irrigation Engineer, Tissa, is to be moved Mr Hamer has been four years at Tissa and besides knowing the place and people thoroughly took a great interest in cultivation as well as irrigation I learnt much from him which was invaluable when the proprietors had to be induced to pass the cultivation rules

3 *Cotton growing experiment*

Arranged about an experiment in cotton growing which I am about to try in the land which Government has allowed me for an experimental garden Prof Dunstan was very interested in it and gave me advice as to what I should try I expect to get Rs 250 from a subscription among members of the Hambantota Society I have got two varieties of Egyptian

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cotton, (1) Mitafifi, (2) Abassi and also a supply of Sea Island. I hope to sow 6 acres as follows : 1 acre Abassi and 2 acres Sea Island under irrigation ; 1 acre Mitafifi and 2 acres Sea Island in high ground. The actual experiment will cost I think about Rs. 140. Prof. Dunstan said he would get me an expert report upon the cotton if I sent some of it to him and if I could not dispose of it here, I might send the whole crop to him and he would put it on the market to see exactly what our return would be. If cotton can be grown successfully on high ground here and if it were possible to find a market for it, it would be an astonishingly good thing for the District, for if pushed it would solve the chena question to a great extent.

So far as I can gather the crop on ploughed fields is above the average. It has not yet been threshed but from all accounts it is very good.

MARCH 7th.

Walked round Tissa tank to Maha potana and then to the Elagalla road up the supply channel to the main road a 12 mile walk and then rode on to Lunagam Vihare. 4. *To Lunagam Vihare.*

MARCH 8th.

Rode to Padawkema, Unatuwewa and Udamattala inspecting tanks and enquiring into chenas. This is the only part of the district which I have not yet visited. The people of Udamattala claim a large extent of land on a deed which certainly gives them no title to anything but low land. They proceeded 2 years ago to clear about 60 acres and eventually were prosecuted. The PM was of opinion that the matter should be dealt with under the WLO and I pressed for a survey. Today I got 16 of the claimants to withdraw all claims and to take out chena permits for yala for the land (18 acres) *already cleared* by them but which I prevented them sowing. As the 16 include the people who were prosecuted before it should go far to settle this matter. 5. *Udamattala claim.*

MARCH 9th.

Rode to Elalla inspecting Galwewa and Ranawarnawewa. 6. *Elalla..*

LEONARD WOOLF

Last Sunday when riding to Tissa my pony shied on a narrow path while passing a hut and one of the sticks projecting from the roof was driven into my knee. The wound was very slight but it did not heal. After riding to Elalla my leg was so inflamed that I could scarcely move. Did some circuit work in afternoon but my temperature going up fairly high and there being signs of blood poisoning I got into a bullock cart at 7 p.m. and was taken into Hambantota (17 miles) where I arrived at 6 a.m.

MARCH 10th.

In bed, did a few papers.

MARCH 11th.

Still laid up, worked in bungalow.

MARCH 12th.

Ditto

MARCH 13th, SUNDAY.

Ditto

7. *Hakim
dispute.*

On Thursday night I received a letter from Mr. Doole informing me that there would probably be a serious disturbance at the mosque at the Friday prayers. This is a continuation of the Hakim dispute. There are now two Hakims and two factions in Hambantota, one led by Mr. Doole Mudaliyar of East Giruwa pattu and the other by Mr. Bahar, Salt Superintendent. Mr. Bahar has got hold of a party called the Fishers which had its origin rather romantically but which has been excommunicated and is said to have no right to say prayers at the mosque where the other party prays. Mr. Bahar and his party had announced their intention of praying at the Pannawala Mosque last Friday. This was to be resisted by Mr. Doole's party. Every man was to come 'taking one sandal on the hand'. Meanwhile Mr. Doole asked me to bind over the Fishers and stop a riot. Mr. Doole retired to East Giruwa pattu. I sent for Mr. Bahar and two of the leaders of Mr. Doole's party and

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

talked frankly to them, explaining to them exactly who would be held responsible if there should be a disturbance. It is said that 250 men were assembled on one side and 150 on the other but I need hardly say that the warning was sufficient and it was not necessary to fall back upon the police force of Hambantota which consists of one sergeant.

I also told the three Government officers who are concerned in this that as they had roused up the people, I held them personally responsible to calm them down. Today they came to see me and a settlement was proposed to which they say all will agree.

MARCH 14th.

A long land case in Court.

MARCH 15th.

Routine. My leg refused to heal so that I am unable to get out.

MARCH 16th.

Ditto but walked round town inspecting for first time for 7 days.

MARCH 17th.

The Hakim dispute is said to be ended.

MARCH 18th.

Routine.

MARCH 19th.

Explained new Opium Ordinance to inhabitants of Hambantota and took applications to be registered as consumers : 50 persons applied. *8. Opium Ordinance.*

In afternoon interviewed some people who still prove irreconcilable in the Hakim dispute.

LEONARD WOOLF

MARCH 20th, SUNDAY.

MARCH 21st.

9 *Cotton
Experiment*

In evening rode to a plot of land belonging to Mr. Amarasingha, Storekeeper on the Karagam Lewaya. He is going to plant a small plot experimentally with cotton.

MARCH 22nd.

Routine

MARCH 23rd

Routine.

MARCH 24th

10 *Salt
Formation*

Routine. Drove to Maha Lewaya in evening and met the Salt Superintendent there to inspect salt formation. The collection will be fixed for April 5th. Salt is also forming at Palatupana. My leg has not quite healed yet but I hope to start for Palatupana tomorrow going by slow stages.

MARCH 25th, Holiday

Drove to Bundala by the sea track through Patiraja. I always ride that way but shall never drive it again. It is too sandy.

MARCH 26th, Holiday.

To Palatupana. Salt is forming beautifully. Decided to fix collection for 5th.

MARCH 27th, Holiday.

At Palatupana.

MARCH 28th & 29th, Holiday.

At Bundala.

MARCH 30th.

To *Kirinda* where I was met by Mudaliyar. Circuit work and checked salt accounts. Rain has destroyed the salt formation.

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MARCH 31st.

To Tissa. Inspected on way the new road which I began 1. *Tissa* last year with DRC and VC funds and a Government grant of Rs. 1,000. I hope to be able to finish it this year. Land sale and enquiries in afternoon.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A.

Miles travelled circ.	150
Amount expended upto 31st March/10	Rs. 456.56

APRIL 1910

APRIL 1st.

Drove from Tissa to Weligatta and then rode on to Ham- 1. *Cotton*
bantota in morning (20 miles). On the way, inspected the ex- *Growing*
perimental garden just started and which I have put under the *Experiment*
charge of the Muhandiram. It is to be sown with cotton. The
big ridge at the top of the paddy fields (to keep water out when
the higher fields have been sown with paddy) has been com-
pleted. The field has now to be ploughed and the ridges, on
which the cotton will be sown, made. The high ground is being
cleared and levelled. I am going to sow the cotton on the high
ground in very shallow trenches instead of upon ridges : this
was Prof. Dunstan's suggestion : it is done in places where
the rainfall is very small, in order that the plants may get as
much of it as possible. I expect to sow between 5 and 6 acres
by April 15th.

I was very surprised and pleased on passing Maha Lewaya 2. *Salt Collec-*
to find salt being collected. I thought it would certainly have *tion.*
been destroyed by the rain but a strong wind blew the rain
water off the formation and so only a certain amount was
destroyed. We have collected about 4,500 cwts. In the after-
noon heavy rain fell which effectually destroyed what was left
of the collection.

LEONARD WOOLF

APRIL 2nd.

3 *Bones of
Animals dead
of rinderpest*

Some time ago I learned that large quantities of bones and skulls of cattle which had died of rinderpest were brought to Hambantota and sold. Upon enquiry I heard that there were two large collections . one in a boutique in the town and another somewhere in Indiwina. Today I sent the Mudaliyar to search the boutique and he found what the owner says is 200 cwts of bones and skulls. The owner states that they were collected before rinderpest and refuses to allow their destruction. I inspected them many of them are very old but some I think are certainly of cattle which have died within the last 9 months. The rinderpest rules do not make a prosecution as easy as I could wish. I have therefore seized the bones and will have to take further steps in the matter. I sent the Mudaliyar off to Indiwina in the evening to search for the other bones.

APRIL 3rd, SUNDAY.

Rode out to Indiwina and met the Mudaliyar. He has seized two other collections one of many cwts. and the other of a few cwts. I agreed with the owners not to prosecute them provided that they hand the bones over to me for destruction. I now want to induce the first man to do the same, as, if I prosecute unsuccessfully I do not see how I can legally destroy the bones. The difficulty of destroying such large quantities is great : I have decided to take them out into the deep sea beyond the reef and drop them overboard in sacks.

APRIL 4th.

Rode round Karagam Lewaya in morning to see the garden plot which the storekeeper is going to sow with cotton. The boutique keeper has agreed to the destruction of the bones.

APRIL 5th.

4 *Opium and
Sanitation.*

At the end of 1908 when Government sent out the circular about the new opium system, I wrote to the G.A. pointing out that the sanitary boards of Tangalla and Hambantota would be crippled in a year or two. The introduction was of course delayed, but the bolt has now fallen and we stand on the verge

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

of bankruptcy. I wrote therefore again last month, and I am glad to see that the matter is being laid before Government. The normal revenue of Hambantota without opium will be Rs. 2,650 and the normal expenditure Rs. 4,000, of Tangalla the revenue will be Rs. 2,600 and the expenditure Rs. 3,200. I do not think it is often realised that the Sanitary Boards of small towns like Hambantota have provided sanitation, water supply, lighting and in some cases education for £300 a year for 2,000 people. The town of Hambantota will lose 63% and the town of Tangalla 59% of its revenue by the abolition of the opium rent. The result will be that the work done by these boards, in many cases most valuable work done extremely cheaply, will come to an end. It is a question whether the health of the population will not suffer as much in this way as by the moderate consumption of opium which before prevailed. Many of the statements made regarding opium in Ceylon must have been absolutely inaccurate notably one which seems to have been widely accepted that its use was comparatively recently adopted. The Assistant Government Agent J. W. Bennett who was in Hambantota, I think, in 1821 notes the rapid increase in the habit of opium taking in Ceylon at that time and so different was the attitude of Government in that time that he introduced the cultivation of the poppy. He records with pride in his book that it was cultivated near the Walawe ganga and that the inhabitants of Hambantota made their own opium.

APRIL 6th.

Routine. In evening a long meeting to decide on the celebration of Empire Day.

The revenue of the district last month was Rs. 90,000. This must be very nearly if not quite a record. I am afraid however it will not keep up quite so high as that so as to reach a million rupees in the year. 5. *The Revenue.*

APRIL 7th.

Routine. Drove and rode to Ranna in evening *en route* to meet the Excise Commissioner at Tangalla.

LEONARD WOOLF

APRIL 8th.

To Tangalla in morning. Had two hours conference with the Commissioners,

6. *Cash in
Tangalla
Treasury*

Verified cash in Tangalla Treasury and counted Rs 21,500 worth of notes. The Treasury Officer was in a hopeless state of confusion and he had an excess of Rs. 18/60. He explained this by the fact that it was his own money.

APRIL 9th.

The further explanation of the Treasury Officer is that the excess of Rs 18/60 was due to a miscount of the rupees, and one ten cent piece !

By motor with Commissioners to Hambantota inspecting taverns The Hambantota arrack appears to be the cheapest and strongest in the Island.

APRIL 10th

To Tissa and back with the Commissioners

APRIL 11th.

Routine.

APRIL 12th.

Routine Information of a case of house-breaking and theft of articles valued at nearly Rs. 1,000 in the town Went down and examined the premises and held enquiry No clue In evening drove to Weligatta

APRIL 13th

Holiday.

APRIL 14th.

7 *Cotton
Experiment
at Tissa*

Drove and rode to Tissa Examined the experimental garden. The high land has been well done but the field has not been properly ploughed. The ridges for the cotton are being put up I am rather pleased to find that many of the Tissa

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

people are helping and working gratuitously. One of them Don Salman Jayasingha who used to be rather a troublesome person, I always find superintending the labourers. This is quite spontaneous on his part but it helps materially in an experiment of this kind to find people coming forward voluntarily to work in it. It is very bad luck that the rain has come so early this year as I am afraid we have missed it. In fact, really, I have begun the experiment too late in the year especially as the Sinhalese New Year makes it difficult to get labour. I should have liked to have tried it next maha but that would be impossible if I get my leave at the end of the year.

APRIL 15th.

Went o experimental garden. About 60 goiyas were at work but I am afraid only 3 acres in all will be ready for cultivation this year, one acre of high land and two of irrigable land.

Rode down to Yodawewa to look at the fields: cultivation is very backward and very little ploughing is going on. I tried the new harrow this morning and I think it works well. The cultivator likes it because he has to do no work other than sitting on it. 8. *Inspections at Tissa.*

Inspected the dispensary and found large numbers of patients. There is much fever just at present here and swarms of mosquitoes.

In afternoon held meeting of inhabitants to elect a Village Committee. Also usual circuit work.

APRIL 16th.

Drove Wirawila, inspected experimental garden *en route*.

Held meeting of inhabitants to elect village committee.

APRIL 17th, SUNDAY.

To Hambantota.

LEONARD WOOLF

APRIL 18th.

Routine.

APRIL 19th.

Routine. Empire Day Meeting in evening.

APRIL 20th.

9 *Sudden
Death at
Tissa*

At 9.45 a.m. received information of sudden death of a young girl at Tissa. Saw VA in Kachcheri who seemed to think there were suspicious circumstances. Started by bicycle at 10.15 and reached Tissa at 11.45, one of the hottest 20 mile rides I have ever had. Held enquiry. It looks as if she died a natural death from weakness owing to fever, measles and probably pneumonia, but everything depends now on the medical evidence.

APRIL 21st.

My pony arrived last night, so I rode to Weligatta and drove from there to Hambantota getting back at 10 a.m. 20 miles. Ordinary work in Kachcheri.

APRIL 22nd.

A day of 12 hours routine work which occurs every now and again here.

APRIL 23rd.

Another heavy day routine in Kachcheri

APRIL 24th-26th.

On leave to Colombo to attend farewell dinner to Mr. Lewis.

APRIL 27th.

Tangalla. Much circuit work.

A month ago the P.M.G. sent me several envelopes sent from the KIRAMA Receiving Office the stamps on which had obviously been used before. I have been 'hunting' ever since and today I had my evidence complete, had the receiving

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

officer sent in to Tangalla and prosecuted him under Sections 255 and 256 C. Penal Code. He pleaded guilty and was fined Rs. 100.

I forgot to say that the suspicious death at Tissa proved to be a case of death from natural causes. It was however a most horrible case in many ways. The girl got pneumonia about April 2nd. Her people thought she had measles and it is a common belief that it is a bad thing to be treated for measles. Consequently she had no medical treatment and got worse and worse. Eventually she was so weak that she could not stand but crawled about the compound. She apparently refused all food for days but continually craved to bathe in cold water. Her people thought this bad for her but she used to crawl out of the compound to bathe in the channel. She crawled out to the channel on the 19th and died there. It is difficult to see how such cases can be prevented and it seems as if something is wrong when they occur. It is a pity that dispensers cannot itinerate in these backward districts.

11. *The death at Tissa.*

APRIL 28th.

Drove Beliatta. There has been much dissatisfaction with the assessment for the new Sanitary Board, and I spent 2 hours reassessing properties. I found the assessment to be very fair.

12. *Beliatta assessment.*

Circuit work and inspection of Tangalla town.

APRIL 29th.

Drove Godakumbura and back 14 miles to settle a dispute about the putting up of dams which has arisen owing to the rebuilding of the Godakumbura bridge. The DE reported that the putting up of these dams interferes with his work. The matter was satisfactorily arranged I think.

13. *Dispute at Godakumbura.*

Inspected Beliatta Buddhist School which was satisfactory.

In evening rode Hatagala 14 miles where I camped. A large crowd of petitioners &c. kept me until 7.30. The people informed me that they don't like the comet : the present is an evil age

LEONARD WOOLF

APRIL 18th.

Routine.

APRIL 19th.

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APRIL 20th.

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LEONARD WOOLF

for the people, they say among the misfortunes come upon them, according to the Velvidane of Netolpitiya, are (1) the road tax, (2) the V C tax, (3) the irrigation rate, (4) the taxes on carts and guns, (5) the restriction of chenas, (6) a strict Assistant Government Agent He invites me to take as my model Mr Murray who allowed chenas freely and when he left the district wept among weeping headmen

APRIL 30th

15 *Liyangahatota*

Rode to Mamadola by the path to Deniya Inspected a land belonging to the Kanuketiya Vihare, the priest of which has encroached on a piece of crown land he is a priest of very bad reputation Also enquired into many complaints of shortage of water and saw the IE about this at Mamadola

Rode on to Liyangahatota in evening

Sgd L S Woolf
A G A

Miles travelled in district 300
Amount expended up to 30th April 1910 Rs 603 56

MAY 1910

MAY 1st

1 *Bedigantota*

Started early in morning and crossed the Walawe river above the anicut into Bedigantota which is a claim which has cropped up a good deal lately From Bedigantota walked through jungle to Mahapelessa Here are very curious hot springs, the water being so hot that one can just bear one's hand being in it Large numbers of green pigeon were drinking it At about 12 heavy rain came on the river had risen considerably since I had crossed it in the morning Later in the evening there was a tremendous thunderstorm

2 *Tissa Cultivation*

The Tissa cultivation is a failure this yala The reasons for this are, among others, that the people do not like to sow

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

the 60 days paddy which they have agreed by rule to sow, they say the return is poor. There was also no work done before the end of the Sinhalese New Year festivities and they have therefore left themselves little more than a month for cultivation. I hear that not more than 500 acres are being cultivated and that only 13 new ploughs are being used. The people also left the ploughs to rust uncared for after last cultivation and now most of them are unusable.

MAY 2nd.

Rode to Mamadola and drove to Ambalantota in morning 3. *Ambalantota.*
13 miles. Circuit work. Rode Beminiyanwila in evening to inspect a dagoba which a priest has asked permission to restore. He is of the Amunupura sect. The VA says that the dagoba previously was in the hands of the Siam sect and the following of that sect would object to the Amunupura sect restoring it. I refused the application.

MAY 3rd.

To Hambantota.

MAY 4th.

Routine.

MAY 5th.

Holiday—Weligatta and back.

MAY 6th.

Routine.

MAY 7th.

I had sent on my carts to go on circuit to Tangalla when I received a telegram announcing the King's death. Recalled 4. *Death of His Majesty.*
carts, closed offices and took steps to inform Mudaliyars and other persons.

MAY 8th, SUNDAY.

In evening drove to Ambalantota.

LEONARD WOOLF

MAY 9th.

Drove Ranna and rode Tangalla. Attended opening of Supreme Court Sessions. There are only 6 cases on the calendar.

MAY 10th.

5. *The Kudawellekele dispute.*

Drove to Kudawellekele and until 11 a.m. inspected the individual holdings in the disputed area with a view to the settlement of the dispute. Each individual occupant stated his willingness to pay his share of the Rs. 5,000 to Mr. Wickremasuriya and accepted my valuations—I trust that this dispute will soon therefore be settled. Inspected Nakulugamuwa Boys and Girls Schools and had breakfast there. Rode back to Tangalla by the Gansabhawa path through Kudawellekele, Mahawela and Sinimodera.

MAY 11th.

Rode and drove to Ambalantota and came on to Hambantota in evening.

MAY 12th

Routine. Mr. Justice Wood Renton arrived in evening.

MAY 13th.

6. *Bundala*

Accompanied Mr. Wood Renton to Weligatta and rode on to Bundala where a salt collection is expected. Found salt but no collectors arrived yet, owing apparently to the fact that rain had fallen and it was thought in Hambantota that the collection would be destroyed. Gave orders to start collecting at once.

Inspected the new school at Bundala. There were 50 children present which was excellent, as my visit was quite unexpected, nobody knowing that I was coming to Bundala.

Rode back to Weligatta.

MAY 14th.

7. *Salt collection.*

Drove to Bundala and back and was glad to see that the collection had begun. About 100 gatherers at work. Returned to Weligatta

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

MAY 15th, SUNDAY.

Accompanied Mr. Wood Renton shooting round Embilla Kalapuwa and then cut across to Bundala Lewaya to see the salt collection. Everything progressing well now, 150 gatherers at work. Drove back to Weligatta and in evening to Hambantota.

MAY 16th.

Mr. Justice Wood Renton inspected the Courts and took notes as to work &c. He found everything satisfactory.

The people of Hambantota held a meeting at which they asked me to preside and decided to hold a mass meeting on the day of the King's funeral and read an address. A committee was appointed to draft an address. *8. The King's Funeral.*

MAY 17th.

Rode Karagam Lewaya to see about the dam put up there in connection with salt manufacture.

MAY 18th & 19th.

Routine.

MAY 20th.

The day of His Majesty's Funeral was observed as a day of mourning. At 5 o'clock rice and money were distributed to the poor. About 1,000 people assembled in the Barracks Square and an address was read to them in English, Sinhalese and Tamil. The CLI detachment were present. Afterwards memorial services were held.

MAY 21st.

Routine.

MAY 22nd, SUNDAY.

To Galle.

MAY 23rd.

Holiday.

LEONARD WOOLF

MAY 24th.

Meeting of Provincial Opium Board.

MAY 25th.

To Hambantota.

MAY 26th.

10. *Salt collection.* Routine. In evening rode Maha Lewaya where a salt collection has begun. We have already collected over 30,000 cwts. this year in the Bundala and Maha Lewayas.

MAY 27th.

Rode Maha Lewaya in morning. Routine.

MAY 28th

Routine. Rode Weligatta in evening via Malala Modara.

MAY 29th, SUNDAY.

11. *Salt collection.* Started before dawn and walked by Embilla Kalapuwa and paid a surprise visit to Bundala Lewaya where a salt collection was going on under supervision of the storekeeper. As usual, a surprise visit disclosed many unsatisfactory things. Returned Hambantota in evening.

MAY 30th.

12. *Opium.*

Meeting of Opium Board. I see that Government has fixed the maximum quantity for consumers at 8 oz. I think it will be very risky to adhere to this. 8 oz. a year is 4 kalans a month. It is exceedingly difficult to get any reliable information but so far as I can ascertain the average amount which opium eaters consume here is 6 kalans a month and there is no doubt that many people consume far more. My cook applied for 6 kalans. In order to test him I sent for him suddenly and asked him when he last bought opium. He said he bought one kalan two days ago. I then made him bring me what he had left. By seeing the quantity he took at a time, one could arrive at a

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

fair estimate of what he really consumed. Checking it thus in every way I found that there was little doubt but that he was accustomed to consume 6 ka'ans a month.

MAY 31st.

Routine.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A.

Miles travelled. 250
Travelling Allowances :
Expended up to 31st May 1910. Rs. 772.81.

JUNE 1910

JUNE 1st.

To Tangalla to meet the G.A. who is coming on circuit 1. *Tangalla-*
to the district. Rode to Pahalagoda to examine the well there.
It should be restored, especially as there is every reason to
expect a scarcity of water this year. The drought is almost un-
precedented, the April and May rains having failed. We are just
entering upon the dry season but the country looks as if we
were at the end of it.

In West Giruwa pattu the returns for cultivation for Maha 2. *Cultivation*
under the village tanks which I have just got show an im- *under Village*
provement on last year. 366 amunams extent were sown yielding *Tanks.*
2,024 amunams of paddy, as against 270 amunams extent sown
and 81,604 amunams reaped last year. The average yield it will
be noted is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ fold in each year. The GA arrived in
the evening.

JUNE 2nd.

Rode with the A.S.P. to Mahahilla (about 15 miles) in 3. *Mahahilla*
the morning to see about rinderpest which has broken out *rinderpest.*
there.

LEONARD WOOLF

In afternoon attended while the Government Agent renewed acts of headmen

JUNE 3rd

Rode to Walgameliya to inspect tanks which the people wished to be struck off the list

4 *Kudawelle
kele Dispute*

I had a 'conference'—one of many—of some hours with Mr Wickremasuriya to try to settle the Kudawellekele land dispute I think that a settlement is practically assured now The people have deposited Rs 5,051 to be drawn by Mr Wickremasuriya when the deed is executed The land has been divided into 44 lots all of which I have now inspected and assessed each occupier has accepted my assessment and paid up his share The difficulty which arose lately was that after my settlement Mr Wickremasuriya leased the whole land to an outsider and agreed to sell him 1/5th share This difficulty was settled today The sole remaining difficulty is that Mr Wickremasuriya will not warrant title and the villagers claim that he should But this will I think be got over

5 *Ploughing
at Tissa*

I have now got in the returns of cultivation for yala under Tissa As I thought, only a very small acreage has been cultivated The figures are

	Acres
Ploughed	386
Mudded	162
Worked with mamotty	77
Total	<u>625</u> acres

The only satisfactory thing is that more than twice as many acres have been ploughed than have been mudded 37 English ploughs were used In some cases only English ploughs were used, in others only native ploughs, in others again both combined It is interesting to note the results in those cases in which the two different kinds of ploughs were used alone 48 Sinhalese ploughs were required to cultivate 129 acres but 9 English ploughs cultivated 35 acres

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

The incorrigible laziness of the Tissa goiyas is shown by the fact that many of them would not cultivate for yala because they got a very good maha crop— another proof that the yield from the ploughed lands was far above the average.

JUNE 4th.

Rode Ranna and drove Ambalantota, where the G.A. renewed the acts. In evening drove Hambantota.

6. *The Govt. Agent's circuit.*

JUNE 5th, SUNDAY.

JUNE 6th.

The GA renewed acts. In evening we went on to Wirawila.

JUNE 7th.

Accompanied the GA round the right bank works to the anicut and back in the morning.

Rode Tissa in evening inspecting the cotton in the experimental garden on the way. It is not a success in the field, which has not been properly weeded. In the high land it looks more hopeful, but the extraordinary drought has militated against a success.

JUNE 8th.

Rode Magama to search a VA's house on suspicion of horns of deer, buffaloes &c. I found 18 deer, 10 sambhur and 14 buffalo horns and fairly specious explanations. I made him take out 7 game licences for the year ending June 1st, 1910. Rode back via Kirinda an exceedingly hot ride of 4 hours.

7. *Seizure of Horns at Magama.*

Renewal of acts in afternoon. The GA went to see the Lucasgoda road in evening and went on to Wirawila.

JUNE 9th.

Rode to Hambantota via Bundala, a surprise visit to the salt collection there. The drought since the first week of April has been intense. From April 7th to May 31st at Tissa the rain

8. *To Hambantota via Bundala. Salt.*

LEONARD WOOLF

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8. *To Hambantota via Bundala. Salt.*

LEONARD WOOLF

has been 52" and at Hambantota 1.40". At Bundala it must have been almost nil. I have never seen the jungles so dried up. The result has been extraordinarily good salt collections for this time of the year. We have already collected about 80,000 cwts. The system which I introduced this year of paying the gatherers daily at the Lewayas has had an excellent effect. After a month's collection we shall have 300 men at work. In previous years we should not have had more than 60 or 70.

JUNE 10th

Routine. The G. A. left in the evening.

JUNE 11th.

9 Salt and an elephant shot.

Rode Maha lewaya to see the tail end of the salt collection there. Heard a case of shooting an elephant at Koggala. I convicted one accused and gave him 2 months and Rs. 100 fine and acquitted 2 others. The headmen have behaved very badly in this case, I think, but I shall hold an inquiry into their conduct later.

JUNE 12th, SUNDAY.

JUNE 13th.

All day in Court trying cases which had been fixed for the Itinerating Police Magistrate but he was unable to come this month.

JUNE 14th.

A considerable part of the day in Court again.

JUNE 15th

Heard a cattle-stealing case and convicted one of the accused.

Rode to Maha Lewaya in evening. The collection there is just ending.

JUNE 16th

Routine.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

JUNE 17th.

Routine. Rode Karagan Lewaya in evening where a few 100 bags of salt are being collected the first time for some years. *10. Salt collection Karagan Lewaya.*

JUNE 18th.

Some time ago an elephant fell into a water hole at Palatupana and could not get out. The GA who was on circuit at Tissa told me to sell it. It fetched Rs. 45 but I heard today that it has since died in the hole. I sent water from the hot-spring at Mahapelessa to the Government Analyst for analysis. His report is :

“ Total solids	534.4	parts	per	100000
Chlorine	248.0	„	„	„
Lime	95.0	„	„	„
Nitrates	Nil			
Sulphates present	(small)			

The water contains high properties (sic) of lime (including magnesia) but otherwise does not appear remarkable”.

Started 3.15 for Kirinda, drove Weligatta, bicycled Bundala where I saw salt collection and rode from there to Kirinda. This is 26 miles by road. Arrived 6.15. *12. Kirinda*

JUNE 19th, SUNDAY.

At Palatupana.

JUNE 20th.

Palatupana. Some pilgrims to the Tissa festival arrived in the evening about 100 camping under the trees. As I fell asleep I heard them praying altogether at the top of their voices. *13. Palatupana.*

JUNE 21st.

Rode Tissa inspecting Lewaya on way. Met many pilgrims and found great numbers at Tissa. Inspected the dagoba premises and went to see the procession in evening. There are said to be 12,000 people here this year. Everything is orderly *14. Tissa. The great pilgrimage.*

LEONARD WOOLF

and sanitation fair. These people undergo a great amount of hardship on the pilgrimage, tramping great distances in a country where there is now no water. The drought is extreme. The jungle is like tinder and I noted that considerable patches especially along the roads have caught fire and been burnt.

JUNE 22nd.

Inspected dagoba premises and arranged for water supply to the pilgrims. Went to dagoba in evening and saw the high priest and Mr. Jayawickrema.

JUNE 23rd.

Rode to Weligatta and drove to Hambantota. Hundreds of pilgrims on the road returning. Found a bull with rinderpest at Weligatta and destroyed it.

JUNE 24th & 25th.

Routine.

JUNE 26th, SUNDAY.

JUNE 27th.

16. *Tissa ploughing.*

The figures given by me in para 5 of this diary with regard to cultivation of Tissa are incorrect. They were given to me by the Mudaliyar and I have since checked them with the IE's figures. I find that the Mudaliyar's clerk mistook amunams for acres in one place! According to the IE the total area cultivated for yala is 1,304 acres. According to the revised figures of the Mudaliyar the area is:

	Acres
Ploughed (English & Sinhalese)	596
Mudded	232
Worked with mamoties	384
	<hr/>
	1,212 acres
	<hr/>

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JUNE 28th.

Routine. Verification of Kachcheri cash &c. Everything correct. DE & DMO verified it.

JUNE 29th.

Routine.

JUNE 30th.

At about 6 p.m. I received a telegram from Galle directing me to take over the whole stock of opium at Tangalla and Hambantota from the renters at 8 p.m. tonight. Wired ASP asking him to do so at Tangalla and went myself tonight here. I am very glad I did. A large crowd collected in great excitement when the rumour spread that it would not be possible to buy opium tomorrow. I allowed as many as had cash to buy a supply which kept me in the shop from 8 to 9, but when I weighed and took over the opium at 9 there were still many unsatisfied. Apparently no arrangements have been made to supply consumers with opium at all for the next few days and yet the Provincial Surgeon at Galle said it would be dangerous to reduce a man's consumption suddenly by *1/6th of an ounce per month!*

17. *Begining of the new Opium system*

On Saturday evening I leave for Tangalla to give evidence in a case in which the Crown has been called on to warrant title, so that there are less than 2 days in which to make arrangements of any kind. I therefore made the people go to their houses and wired to the G.A. that if I do not receive instructions to the contrary I shall sell at the Kachcheri tomorrow from the stock taken over by me: also that some arrangements must be made to sell at Tangalla from the hospital. Also there are apparently only two ounces of eating opium in Hambantota at the present moment!

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A.

Miles travelled in district 197

Travelling Allowances:

Expended up to 30 June 1910. Rs. 872.81.

JULY 1910

JULY 1st.

1. *The new
Opium system*

23 persons who are bona fide consumers came to the Kachcheri today praying for opium. I wired last night to GA proposing to sell opium from the Kachcheri and asking him to wire if there was any objection, also to send further supply. At 2 p.m. I received a reply that a further supply would be sent. I assumed therefore that there was no objection and made arrangements to sell at the Kachcheri. I was just going to start doing so, when a telegram from the Colonial Secretary orders me not to do so and not to take over renter's stock. I had taken over the renter's stock last night on instructions from Galle. Meanwhile the renter who was enjoying himself to see the fix in which we had put ourselves, concealed himself (in the mosque where no gentile could get, at him!). I wired to Government proposing if possible to hand over the opium taken by me from the renter again to him and let him sell and asking what I should do if he refused. I got no reply to this telegram but later the renter was routed out and agreed to take the opium back. The consumers whose numbers increased to 38 waited all day until 6.45 p.m. at the Kachcheri and then had to be driven away. I am still in ignorance as to what arrangements have to be made and I must leave Hambantota at latest the day after tomorrow. Meanwhile Tangalla must be in the same condition: I am in communication with the ASP.

JULY 2nd.

The ASP wired to me that the Tangalla vendor was out of Tangalla, so that it was not possible to get his consent. He wired that the people are 'crying' for opium and later that the Tangalla vendor agreed to take the opium back. I wired again to Government as I had received no reply at 10 a.m. Later on I received a wire from Government to say that the GA has been instructed to accept the tenders of the present renters and ordering me 'to act accordingly'. I therefore handed

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

back the opium to the renters and they began to sell. About two hours later I received a telegram from the GA that he had accepted the tender of one Marikar. This I believe not to be the present renter.

JULY 3rd, SUNDAY.

Drove and rode to Tangalla.

JULY 4th.

Meeting of Sanitary Board regarding encroachments on Market Street. Decided to proceed with their removal. Passed by-laws for slaughter house.

2. *Tanalla Sanitary Board Meeting*

In Court most of day to give evidence in a case in which Government sold land to Mr. Wickremanayaka and he has failed to get possession. He is suing the claimants. The chief witness went back on his previous statement and the case is therefore rather doubtful.

3. *Civil Cases.*

The usual enquiries &c. till late in the evening. Inspected jail.

JULY 5th.

Drove and rode to Hambantota with Mr. Tyler who is to take over from me while I am away at Kataragama.

A man has been seized at Ambalantota with $1\frac{1}{2}$ cwts. of ganja. I tried him in the afternoon and he pleaded guilty. I gave him an exemplary sentence as he is one of a few people who have obviously been carrying on an illicit trade in Indian Hemp. They grow it at Migahajandura and trade it away to Dickwella. I heard of this about four weeks ago and thanks to the prompt action of the police sergeant we have caught one of the men redhanded.

4. *Ganja.*

JULY 6th.

Much work to get clear before leaving for Kataragama.

JULY 7th.

5. To Tissa
for Katara-
gama'

The drought.

Rode 20 miles before breakfast to Tissa via Bundala where I paid a surprise visit to the salt collection. Everything in order. There is little pleasure to be derived from travelling in the Magampattu jungles after 8 a.m. now. There has practically been no rain for over 3 months. The heat is intense : a tremendous south-west wind sweeps clouds of sand and dust over the country : the grass burnt black, all the undergrowth and smaller shrubs brown and withered and many of the larger trees leafless. Very often the only things to remain green are the mustard trees (*salvadora persica*) and one of the dreariest of shrubs the *Azina tetraantha*, curiously enough the only two examples of *Salvadoraceae* in Ceylon. There have been numbers of small jungle fires and one continually crosses patches of jungle where everything has been burnt black. This unprecedented drought has allowed us to collect 130,000 cwts. of salt already and we ought to beat the record collection but it looks as if now the drought may spoil our chances. The water at Bundala is giving out which means that the gatherers will have to leave and the salt in the Lewaya is getting covered with sand.

At Tissa about 300 people applied for 75 tickets for Katara-gama.

JULY 8th.

6. Katara-
gama.

Rode to Kataragama in early morning. Saw the RM, DMO and priests.

The heat during the day makes life intolerable : one cannot exist in the bungalow after 10 a.m. without wearing a hat of some sort while the glare is enough to warrant smoked spectacles. In this condition one sits in a perpetual sandstorm waiting for the sun to go down and for the mosquitoes to come out and take the place of the eye-flies. I hope that the Kataragama god sees to it that the supervisor of the pilgrims acquires some little merit from this pilgrimage.

In the evening a distant thunderstorm and slight rain. Went round the place with the sergeant, RM &c. Very few pilgrims have arrived yet.

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JULY 9th.

At Kataragama.

Government has been calling for explanations of the large number of imprisonments for default in paying the road tax in this district last year. This district has always been a notoriously bad one for shirking the road tax. If the Ordinance is really enforced the result is at any rate for a time a large number of fines and imprisonments: if it is not, the result is a large number of ineffectives. Mr. Boake many years ago complained bitterly when Government informed him that the large number of ineffectives was most unsatisfactory. The enforcing of the Ordinance last year had a considerable effect as the percentage of those who discharged their liability to the number liable rose from 89.52 to 92.71. In many places the provisions of the Ordinance are, I believe, never adhered to; certainly it was the rarest event in Jaffna to fine a defaulter Rs. 10. But if one has a bad law I believe it is almost always better to enforce it than to leave it unenforced. However there is no doubt that the road tax is a bad tax. It is a tax which is no tax at all to the well-to-do man who uses the roads a great deal and sometimes goes to a resthouse. It is often a serious consideration to the villager who never goes to a resthouse and uses the roads very little. If I paid direct taxes in proportion to my income as the ordinary man who draws Rs. 10 a month I should pay Rs. 150 a year instead of Rs. 1.50.

7. *The Road Ordinance and Defaulters.*

JULY 9th.

At Kataragama.

JULY 10th, SUNDAY.

Ditto.

JULY 11th.

Ditto.

One of the game watchers came to see me. Punchirala, 8. A missing one of the other watchers, has been lost since June 27th. He is said to have left Katagamuwa on his usual rounds towards

*game.
watcher.*

the sanctuary. He has not been heard of since; I have had many men searching for him. I am afraid he must have been killed or injured by some animal.

JULY 12th.

Ditto.

9. *Kataragama Kanda*

Climbed the Kataragama hill after 4 hours of most strenuous walking and climbing, but a fine view of miles upon miles of jungle and the Uva & Batticaloa hills. They say that the Kataragama Deviyo used to have his temple here and was Kandesswami. One day he thought he would like to cross the river and live in Kataragama. He asked some Tamils who were passing to carry him across. They however said that they were going to Palatupana to collect salt but would carry him across on their way back. A little while afterwards came by some Sinhalese and the god asked them to move him. They did so at once and so to this day the kapuralas of his temple are Sinhalese. The mixture of Sinhalese and Hinduism is most curious here. The man (a Sinhalese) who climbed the hill with me explained that the god used to be Tamil but he married into a Sinhalese family at Kataragama and became a Sinhalese god. My servant who is a Jaffna Tamil says that all these are mere tales: He is Kandesswami and no one else. He cannot however explain how the dhobies and pariahs are allowed into the temple if it really is a Kandesswami Kovil.

JULY 13th - 22nd.

10. *The pilgrimage.*

At Kataragama. The pilgrimage passed off without incident. There has been most heavy rain the last week and everything is more or less under water. I am writing to the GA suggesting that the Dewale authorities should be made to provide accommodation for pilgrims. There is not cover for 1,000 people here and the amount of fever and pneumonia which must have resulted to the 3,000 to 4,000 pilgrims this year—unless the God protects them—should be extraordinary. The authorities should at least make temporary cadjan buildings and cut drains round them. There were only two deaths both of children at this pilgrimage.

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JULY 23rd.

Rode with Mr. Tyler ASP Tangalla who arrived last night 11. *Katagomuwa. The missing watcher and a shooting gang.*
to Katagomuwa. We only just got across the river in time. It had risen many feet in the night and was already in flood : I doubted whether my second cart would get across and when I arrived at Tissa I found that it had been unable to do so.

I went to Katagomuwa to hold an enquiry into the disappearance of the game watcher. A rumour has spread that he was murdered by some Tissa people who about the time of his disappearance went from Tissa to the Uva jungles north of Katagomuwa to shoot and collect horns. These people appear to have come across an Uva gang in the Uva jungles bent on the same business and to have robbed the Uva gang of a gun and their horns. I have been making enquiries quietly during the pilgrimage and have had the gun seized in the house of a man at Tissa : it is a gun licensed in Badulla. The Tissa gang is to be brought up before me tomorrow at Tissa.

Mr. Engelbrecht met me at Katagomuwa today. I had sent him up through the jungle to a kema in the Uva province, which the Tissa gang is said to have shot at, to try and trace their path and possibly to find the missing man's body. He tracked the course taken by the gang but found nothing. I held an enquiry into the matter at Katagomuwa but there is no evidence that this gang met the missing watcher.

In afternoon rode on in rain to Tissa (21 miles in all).

JULY 24th.

Census work in early morning. Very badly done by head-12. *Tissa men. Had the Tissa 'gang' up before me. I charged and tried (a) Census work them (as a preliminary) for being in possession of an unlicensed (b) The shooting gang. gun. They made a long statement confirming the story related in the previous paragraph except that they stated that they had found the Uva gang collecting horns without permits. They threatened to take them to and report them at Kataragama but let them go when they gave them (as a present!) the gun*

LEONARD WOOLF

and horns. There is still absolutely nothing to connect the Tissa people with the missing watcher and I am disposed to believe that it is merely a village rumour without any foundation.

Enquiries and census work again in evening.

JULY 25th.

13. *Wirawila
Census Work.*

Drove to Wirawila early in morning and after doing census work rode on to Hambantota with Mr. Tyler. Heavy Kachcheri work awaiting me.

13. *Cultivation and
ploughing.*

I forgot to say that yesterday I had a meeting of Tissa landowners called to decide on what steps should be taken with regard to ploughing. The difficulty appears to be with the goiyas who object to the labour of ploughing. Consequently if one man mudds and another ploughs, the goiyas all go to the man who mudds and will not go to the man who ploughs. They suggested that a rule should be passed by the proprietors making it compulsory to plough first and only to use buffaloes for smoothing (=harrowing) the field after ploughing. What they fear is that the big wealthy landowners who can afford to buy buffaloes will import buffaloes from Matara and get all the labour, while if the other people continue to plough their labour will desert them. The big landowners are therefore unlikely to agree to the proposed rule. All those present at the meeting were in favour of the rule.

A syndicate of about 6 people has been formed to buy a threshing machine and they have asked me to order one for them from Walkers. I saw this machine favourably noticed in the "Tropical Agriculturist" and wrote for particulars. These particulars were put before the proprietors and it is satisfactory to see that they are going to give it a trial on their own initiative. They also have decided to make an experiment with gingelly cultivation. I sent some of the Tissa soil to Mr. Bamber to analyse and he reported that it would probably be most suitable for gingelly. It was on this report that they have decided to make the experiment.

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JULY 26th & 27th.

Routine.

JULY 28th.

Plenty of routine work. Tried a civil case. Also convicted two men of killing game in the open season and sentenced them to pay a fine of Rs. 50. They did not pay and so went to jail. The amount of illicit destruction of game is very great and I am sorry to say that 2 elephants have been illicitly shot in the last two months. In one case I gave one of the accused two months but thanks to the headmen, in my opinion conniving. Mr. Tyler acquitted two others. In the other case a tusker is said to have been shot in East Giruwa pattu. Three men are to be prosecuted in the Tangalla Courts. I wrote to the GA, Uva after the Kataragama pilgrimage about the destruction of game there. The game watchers make it very difficult to poach on my side of the river and so gangs of men go into the Uva jungles north of the river and shoot there. I am convinced that Kataragama is the centre of this trade and that the dried meat is brought in there. Having little else to do I used during the pilgrimage to explore the jungles round Kataragama thoroughly. I never came across a *messa* when I took a villager of Kataragama with me : he took good care of that. When I roamed about myself I found the biggest *messa* for drying meat I have ever seen in the thick jungle down the river. Usually *messas* are made quite small where the sambur or deer is killed and the meat dried on the spot. This one looked as if it is permanently used. I imagine it is a place where deer and sambur regularly come to the river and drink and that they are shot down and the meat dried there as a regular business. The people of Katagomuwa in my district are the most notorious poachers : they used to do nothing else for their living. I have two game watchers there now and consequently their means of living have been taken away from them. The whole male population has now emigrated to Kataragama where of course they find that they can pursue their old occupation unhindered. There used to be 13 families in Katagomuwa : the population now consists of 3 women, a girl of 17, a few children and 2 game watchers. 15. Game protection-

LEONARD WOOLF

JULY 29th & 30th.

Routine.

JULY 31st, SUNDAY.

To Ambalantota, to start my circuit (twice postponed) for census work and road defaulters.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A.

Miles travelled	131.
Vote :—Amount expended up to 31st July 1910	Rs. 912.81.

AUGUST 1910

AUGUST 1st.

1. *Circuit
Tangalla.*

Drove from Ambalantota to Ranna and thence rode to Tangalla. Found Mr. Willett in Resthouse: he has been appointed Itinerating P.M.

Worked at road defaulters &c. Government has directed me to enquire personally into the case of each man who was sent to jail for default last year. I have begun to do this but it is not exactly a light task to combine with an ordinary circuit in which this year's defaulters are to be brought up and in which there is also census work to do. I shall have to enquire into 155 separate cases.

I am on this circuit going to check the House Lists of the PO's on the spot. I walked round Kotuwegoda and Medaketiya doing this today.

AUGUST 2nd.

2. *Nakulu-
gamuwa.*

Rode to Nakulugamuwa, and inspected the Boys' & Girls' Schools there. The boys were having their annual examination. Also checked census lists of Kadurupokuna, Unakuruwa, Sini-modara and Kudawellekele—most of them bad.

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Held excited meeting of fishers to amend the fishing rules which have been found unworkable. Eventually an agreement was arrived at and suitable rules passed. Karawas are always excited and noisy but amusing.

3. *Fishing rules.*

Went with PE to inspect the encroachments on the main road by the bridge. The encroachments are extensive and to remove them I am afraid we should have to go to Court. I have suggested a compromise which the encroachers might agree to. The P.E. also approves of it but has no authority to agree to it. I am therefore to write to the Government Agent about it.

4. *Encroachments.*

AUGUST 3rd.

Rode to Kahawatta via Nalagama, cut down to a hamlet of Kahawatta and came out on the main road across the fields. A long hot ride checking the census work of the Kahawatta and Nalagama PO's, the former fair, the latter bad.

5. *Census Work, Kahawatta.*

Usual circuit work at Kahawatta. Far fewer defaulters this year than last year. In evening inspected Notary's office and bazaar.

AUGUST 4th.

Drove Puwakdandawa 6.30. Checked PO's census work which was hopeless. Rode Divilana to inspect land applied for by priests to restore dagoba. They are asking for too much I think. Checked PO's census work: fair. Rode on by Gansabhawa path inspecting Palapota school to Unana. Inspected Puwakgasanawewa where some good work has been done on the bund. Checked Unana PO's census work. Crossed stream here where I am building a footbridge from gansabhawa funds. Rode on to Dedduwawila where I met my trap and drove on to Kahawatta arriving 12 noon.

6. *Puwakdandawa and Unana.*

Sat on bench with President of Gansabhawa for an hour in the afternoon.

LEONARD WOOLF

Worked till 7 p.m. at enquiries and last year's road defaulters.

AUGUST 5th.

7. *Wauwa and Moderawana.*

Drove to Okewela checking Pallatara PO's census work (not good) and wewa. Then rode across a bridge out of which all the beams had fallen, over rocks, edandas and paddy fields to Hinati Hatamuna, Kendalakotambe and Wauwa. At Wauwa I went to Mr. Ratnayaka's Walauwa. I got him to try an experiment with cotton and he has 2 acres or so of chena planted with it. He planted it too late I think, but it really looks most promising here, far better than at Tissa. He is the owner of a fairly large coconut estate which does very well. Rode back to Moderawana and inspected the school. Drove on to Walasmulla arriving 12 noon.

8. *Walasmulla.*

Usual circuit work in afternoon. Walked Paddapitiya checking Walasmulla and Paddapitiya PO's census work (former good), (latter fair) and a tank which the proprietors wish to be struck off the list. Decided to do so. Mr. Tyler ASP arrived in evening.

AUGUST 6th.

9. *Kanamuldeniya, Walasmulla school and lace-making.*

Rode to Kanamuldeniya and back in morning inspecting Danketiyawewa in Natuwela and 2 tanks in Kanamuldeniya. Earthwork was in progress on each. Checked Kanamuldeniya PO's census work (fair). Visited Walasmulla school : being Saturday, it was a holiday but there was a class of 4 girls learning lace-making. The school master's wife has started this : she could get a class of 20 if there were room and I shall consider the question of putting up a temporary building as it would be a good thing for the village.

10. *The Walasmulla Disturbance and the Police.*

Held an enquiry in conjunction with the ASP into the events of the Sinhalese New Year's Day. There was very nearly on that day a serious disturbance in Walasmulla caused by a goigama one of the Dahanaike family of Kanamuldeniya getting very drunk in the bazaar. He was arrested according to the Cons-

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table Arachchi by him. The constable Arachchi is a Karawa and when the news reached Kanamuldeniya, it is said that about 100 goigamas set out for Walasmulla to demolish the bazaar and wipe out the Karawas. It all ended by the Constable Arachchi being assaulted in the police station and stabbed (non-grievous) on his way home. According to the police, however, the disturbance originally arose from a drunken quarrel between the Constable Arachchi and the Dahanaike in which the former who was as drunk as the latter set the Karawas of the bazaar on to beat the latter. The whole affair has caused acute caste feeling and a large crowd assembled to hear the enquiry. I was hard at it from 1.30 to 6.30 and as a result found gross misconduct on the part of the police including in my opinion falsification of the Information Book. The ASP agreed with me and I am reporting the whole matter.

AUGUST 7th, SUNDAY.

Rode Wiraketiya via Udukiriwila round the back of the 11. *Wiraketiya.*
tank, inspecting tanks, census work and land advertised for sale tomorrow. Checked census work of PO's Atubodda, Udukiriwila and Yakgasmulla.

Tappal in afternoon.

AUGUST 8th.

Walked to the Roman Catholic Estate, St. Joseph's, which 12. *St. Joseph's Estate.*
I have often wished to see. It is planted up with coconuts and is doing very well. Nearly all the labour is done by women. They come from villages several miles away and work with the mamotty for very low wages.

Checked PO Mandaduwa's census work (fair).

Held a most successful land sale of land in Udukiriwila. 13. *Successful Land Sale.*
It is good coconut land and there was keen competition. The average was over Rs. 100 per acre.

LEONARD WOOLF

AUGUST 9th.

14. *New Road to Talawa.*

Rode to Talawa by the Gonadeniya road. For years officers of other departments have been writing in diaries and letters to Government commenting upon the scandal of having a row of bridges standing in a paddy field with no method of getting on to the bridges or across the paddy fields. Some years ago the Government directed the PWD to make an estimate and this was done. Last year however I got the VC to vote money for doing the first (and most important mile) of the road. The work has been put in hand and the roadway built up to the bridges and the bridges repaired. For the first time, therefore, since Mr. Horsburgh was AGA, carts can get across direct from Wiraketiya to Talawa. If the work is only persisted in I think this road may do a great deal to open up this piece of the country which before had no means of communication. I was not, however, particularly pleased with the way the work has been done this year. The VC should yearly vote money until the whole road is completed.

Inspected Ampitiyawewa at Attanagala, the school at Gonadeniya and the PO's census work at Abukolawewa. Much enquiry work at Talawa. Inspected dispensary a large number of patients receiving attention. In evening inspected the new well built at Alutwewa and the Talawa and Kariyamaditta PO's census work.

AUGUST 10th.

15. *Middeniya.*

Rode to Middeniya and stayed at the school. Inspected census work of Kudadoda PO. In evening walked about 6 miles checking Middeniya PO's census work and inspecting a land at Mulanayaya for which a man has applied for a CQP. The people of Kudagalara took me to see an immense well dug by them which they want Government to deepen. This might be considered among well works for next year. Got back to the school after dark.

LEONARD WOOLF

are necessary. It lies on the precipitous slope of the hills above Kirama and some of the people are fairly well off. Others are miserably poor and lie upon the border line. It is not at all an easy thing to say whether there is a means of livelihood for all these people when chenas are stopped or how exactly they live in these remote villages. It is true that these villages in West Giruwa pattu are not in the same position as those in the dry zone in East Giruwa pattu and Magam pattu. The rain falls and things sown in the ground grow up instead of being withered by the sun. I have therefore stopped chenas in these villages but not without considerable hesitation. It cannot be too often insisted upon that chenas have never been seriously curtailed before in this district and that it is a step which, it is admitted by nearly everyone I think who knows the district, may have the most serious consequences. If therefore the present steps are to be persisted in during the next few years, the results should be watched most carefully. I may mention that the ASP has sent me a report of his station house officer of Ranna in which the latter states that there has been an increase of crime in many villages and ascribes this increase to the stopping of chenas. The people, he says, having no chena crop eat only meat and prey upon one another and one another's cattle!

From Galpotukanda we crawled with our ponies up the side of the hill which is almost perpendicular by a rocky path and watercourse on to the gansabhawa path which runs from Warapitiya to Urubokka in the Matara District. If I had not seen it, I should not have believed that an ordinary mortal pony could perform such gymnastics. Thence by the gansabhawa path and the finest scenery to be seen in Ceylon down to Warapitiya and down the channel to Kirama—most strenuous 5 hours for the pony

AUGUST 15th.

21 *Julampitiya*

Rode by gansabhawa path to Julampitiya checking Rademara and Ihala Obada census work and inspecting tanks. The heat in this part of the country which I have only once before

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visited is extraordinary. It seems to be peculiarly unhealthy just now as between Obada and Julampitiya I noticed two fresh graves and in a third a body was just about to be buried. At Julampitiya I examined the registrar's books and found that most of the mortality is due to fever, infantile convulsions and to a disease recorded I believe as ugura. There were several cases of the last disease being the cause of death, but what exactly it is I could not discover from the Mudaliyar's and registrar's description. It is apparently a sudden and often fatal affection of the throat and I presume is diphtheria.

22. *Ugura lit. Throat.*

Inspected the school which is flourishing. I am putting up a new building here this year. After breakfast the usual work.

At 4 p.m. rode on to Wiraketiya inspecting Julampitiya, Malhege Ayina, Kandamaditta and Kinchigune Medagama for census work. Crossed the Urubokka over the Kiribath Amuna bridge which I built last year. This is a most useful bridge. Found still more circuit work and inquiries waiting for me at Wiraketiya which kept me working until 8 p.m.

23. *Wiraketiya.*

AUGUST 16th.

Rode Tangalla and tried a D.C. criminal case perjury. I acquitted both accused. Circuit work. The Kudawellekele settlement has advanced one step forward and I do not now see how either side can go back.

24. *Tangalla.*

AUGUST 17th.

Rode Pahalagoda well which is being rebuilt and to Palatuduwa school which large numbers of children attend. Drove on from Marakolliya to Ranna inspecting Marakolliya Wesleyan school on the way.

25. *Palatuduwa.*

Went with the Assitant Superintendent of Police to the police station and inspected it and the crime figures thoroughly. I have had continual complaints about this station from the surrounding villages lately, of oppression in petty ways by the police

26. *The Ranna Police Station.*

LEONARD WOOLF

and in particular about the molestation of women. If it had not been for the Kataragama pilgrimage the matter would have been gone into last month. I had also gradually formed the opinion that this station is unnecessary but I wanted to take no steps until I could go into the matter with the Assistant Superintendent, as I thought the crime figures fully confirm my impression that there is not enough work for a police station here. The people are not criminal in this part of the country and if the Tangalla strength is increased, as it should be, what crime there is can very well be dealt with from Tangalla. The Assistant Superintendent, I am glad to say, agrees with these views. We went back to the Resthouse and circuit work began with 10 women who live near the police station coming forward to complain of the behaviour of the police. Their statements were borne out by some respectable inhabitants. Then another woman came forward and made a complaint of molestation by the SHO. Possibly the best evidence produced by her was her good looks which are rare in this part of the district but her story received a certain amount of corroboration from the Police Officer and on the whole I am inclined to believe that there is some truth in it. I of course left these matters to the Assistant Superintendent to deal with his men. But there is no doubt that it is partly because the station is unnecessary that this state of things has arisen. There are never wholesale complaints of this kind from Beliyatta and Walasmulla because the police there have plenty to do and that keeps them out of the mischief of harassing and molesting.

AUGUST 18th.

Drove to the turn to Mamadola inspecting a piece of land at Hongama which is a perpetual cause of dispute. It was sold by the settlement officer and is claimed

From Mamadola turn rode up to the No. 3 channel and back to inspect a land in connection with a Gansabhawa appeal. Then drove on to Ambalantota.

27 I am
looking into
this matter
G A, S P

28 Ambalan-
tota

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

In evening census work at Ambalantota and Walawe and drove into Hambantota.

AUGUST 19th.

Just sitting down at 7 a.m. to begin wiping off accumulations which naturally await one after a long circuit when I was disturbed by the wailing of 4 Mohamedan females outside my front door. I was wanted to take a 'dying deposition' in the hospital. Rode up there and found the doctor sewing up a man's head with a large admiring crowd watching on the road. There had been a fracas between carters five miles out of Hambantota and two had been injured, one seriously. Until 9 I was occupied in recording evidence. 2. *Grievous hurt case.*

Then found that I was wanted at the salt stores as Mr. Forsyth of Messrs. Delmege Forsyth & Co. had come on various matters. We allow 6 lbs. tare for every bag : he stated that when weighing bags they found that they weighed far more : so we agreed to try the experiment with bags which were just about to be issued from our stores. We weighed six : average 6 lbs. Mr. Forsyth wanted to go out to Kirinda so we motored out there taking Bundala, where salt collection is going on again, *en route*. Got back 7 p.m. 30. *Messrs. Delmege Forsyth & Co.*

AUGUST 20th.

Much routine and a considerable time in court over the case of grievous hurt which is most unsatisfactory.

AUGUST 21st, SUNDAY.

Spent 11 hours working at accumulations.

AUGUST 22nd.

Routine. Rode Maha Lewaya salt collection in evening.

AUGUST 23rd.

Routine.

LEONARD WOOLF

AUGUST 24th.

31. *Inspection of Schools* Inspected Father Cooreman's school in the morning. An excellent building and excellent teaching and discipline. It is an English school and I do not think that our new Tamil school will interfere with it nor does Father Cooreman. Afterwards inspected the Church of England school which is a great contrast.

AUGUST 25th.

32. *New School for Hambantota* Held a long meeting of the Sanitary Board at which final arrangements were discussed for the new Tamil school. It will be opened on January 1st and will, I believe, be the first Sanitary Board School in the Island. It will be a mixed vernacular school. Government has given us a most excellent site and we are putting up a really good building—which in my opinion is far the cheapest in the long run. It has taken a long time to reach this point and there have been certain difficulties. The loss of the opium rent at one time looked as if we should be in a serious position but now that Government has granted us a refund of 75% for at least one year, we are safe until the end of 1911 when if it is properly managed we ought to begin to draw a substantial grant as a grant-in-aid school. With such a grant and careful management, the Board should be able to run this school well but if eventually the whole opium revenue is lost I am afraid that the District School Committee will have to take over the school. I have been very keen to get this school started properly. It is really wanted here and I expect a great deal from it. As I heard one of the Mohamedan residents of Hambantota say, there is no town in Ceylon where children swarm about the streets all day long as they do in Hambantota and there is no town where they are worse behaved. This fact I believe accounts a good way for the colossal laziness of the people here and it will be a great thing to sweep all these children between the ages of 6 and 12 into school every day, where they can learn something other than obscenity, ill manners and the torturing of animals, which at present are the three things which make up the education of most of the children in Hambantota.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

AUGUST 26th.

Routine. Rode Maha Lewaya salt collection in evening.

AUGUST 27th.

Routine.

AUGUST 28th, SUNDAY.

Rode in early morning and paid surprise visit to Bundala Lewaya where salt collection is going on. Everything in order and 400 men at work. I will hope to beat the record collection. We have already collected 180,000 cwts. of which about 106,000 cwts. have been collected at Bundala. If it had not been for the decision to raise the price of Palatupana salt which made in inadvisable to collect a large quantity at that Lewaya—so that I stopped collecting there—we should have beaten all records some time ago and collected over 200,000 cwts. Rode from Bundala to Weligatta and drove from there to Hambantota 20 miles before breakfast.

33. *Salt collection.*

I saw a curious proof of the intense drought. The PWD have dug a pit for water at the 4th mile. There were six jackals drinking at it as I drove past at 10.30 a.m. They looked even more lean and mangy than usual and as if for them it had been for long a case of *sicca sanguine fances*.

34. *The Drought*

AUGUST 29th - 31st.

Routine.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.

A.G.A.

Miles travelled in District
Travelling :— Expended up to 31st
August, 1910

Miles 289 circ.
Rs. 1140.01.

LEONARD WOOLF

SEPTEMBER 1910

SEPTEMBER 1st

1 *Record
Salt collection for the
district*

Today the total salt collection for the year reached 190,302 cwts and the record made 17 years ago has been beaten

SEPTEMBER 2nd

2 *To Tissa
via Bundala*

Rode to Tissa via Bundala Taking this way one only has to do one mile out of the 20 along the road and as the road is so appalling I am beginning to think that it is the best way of getting to Tissa, though it is a long stretch for a pony in this climate I left at 5 30 and reached Tissa at 9 30 At Bundala stopped a short time to see the collection about 150 gatherers While going along the path from Bundala to the river, through fairly thick jungle I caught sight of a man and boy ahead as soon as they saw me they bolted When I got to the place I found a halmulla log fresh cut lying on the ground I went on as if I had seen nothing and tied up my pony to a tree in the bed of the river and then went back on foot thinking that I might catch the people returning for the log This was unsuccessful, so I went to a vihare which is near by and had the log removed to it

Heavy rain in the afternoon

3 *Cotton*

In evening walked to the experimental garden Some of the cotton is doing splendidly, but many of the plants apparently for no reason are very stunted I wish I could get someone who understands it to see it

4 *Drought-
resisting
paddy*

Then had a look at some drought-resisting paddy which I sent to the Muhandiram to try There is no doubt of its resistance to drought It was sown nearly 4 months ago and has not yet flowered It must therefore be 6 months while our cultivation period for Yala is intended for 60 days paddy only Consequently water was shut off on August 15th However, the paddy is still alive and the village experts told me that it must be exceedingly good paddy



With Jawaharlal Nehru
A photograph of Nehru with Leonard Woolf taken
in London, 1936.

5

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

SEPTEMBER 3rd.

Enquired into the burning of Vilapalawewa and Buttawa openings in the Resident Sportsmen's reserve. Circumstances highly suspicious but not much harm has been done as very little jungle was burnt.

5. *Burning Buttawa.*

Went to see a threshing machine work which I got a syndicate of landowners to buy. In cost Rs. 175/-. A large crowd came to see it and it was most successful. It threshes very cleanly and requires actually to work it only two men. The people estimated that it would thresh eight stacks in a day. 4 buffaloes take a day to thresh four stacks. The payment for threshing by buffaloes is three kurunies of paddy per stack. 8 stacks would cost therefore 24 kurunies—Rs. 6/-. Allowing five men to feed and work the machine at 50 cents a day, it would cost Rs. 2/50 to thresh the 8 stacks. The only drawback is that the people persist in working machines with all nuts and screws loose so that they are bound to break and another is that they are so careless that I am sure someone will get his hand threshed as well as the paddy.

6. *Threshing machine.*

In the afternoon held a very large meeting of proprietors to consider what steps can be taken for the next cultivation as regards ploughing. They unanimously passed a rule making it compulsory to plough or use the momotty in all fields not exempted by me and allowing buffaloes to be used only for smoothing fields after ploughing. The reason for this rule is that if some people mud, it is difficult for the other proprietors to get cultivators to plough for all the cultivators would rather mud than plough. Compulsory ploughing puts them all on the same footing.

7. *Ploughing*

The proprietors also unanimously passed a rule by which fencing is no longer compulsory. There is strong feeling against the fencing rule at Tissa and I think there has been a certain amount of exaction on the part of the vel-vidanes over it. I should have liked to deal with it before but of course it is not possible to deal with vel-vidanes until the question has been settled under whose control they are.

8. *Fencing.*

LEONARD WOOLF

9. *Gratitude or ingratitude.*

At the close of the meeting Father Cooreman made a speech on behalf of the Tissa proprietors in which (apropos of the remarks of His Excellency the Governor) he stated that they respectfully submitted that the proprietors were not ungrateful to Government for the help given to them after the loss of their buffaloes. Some of the other proprietors endorsed his statement in Sinhalese.

10. *The Tamils of Tanjanagram.*

In the evening I walked to Tikiri wewa and through the village of Tanjanagram with some of its Tamil inhabitants. These Tamils were settled in Tanjanagram on one acre blocks. They complain that the settlement is dwindling as the land is highland and there is no water. They ask for the restoration of Tikiri wewa. It would be a great pity to lose these Tamils who like most of their race are excellent workers and good cultivators. They showed me some excellent deep wells dug by them — with no water in them — and some fields prepared for tobacco cultivation as no Sinhalese that I have seen ever prepares a field. Unfortunately even a cursory inspection of Tikiri wewa makes it almost certain that its restoration would be out of the question. It is a very large tank and the breaches in the bund are enormous. To make this settlement a success the Tamils should have been granted *irrigable* land on easy terms. There are papers on the subject which I shall look into.

SEPTEMBER 4th, SUNDAY.

11. *Elephants.*

Rode to Andella and drove from there to Hambantota. I started very early and as usual failed to hit the track which leaves the paddy fields into the jungle to Andella. I went to a hut in the paddy fields and got a man to show me the path. We heard a tremendous trumpeting and squealing of elephants ahead and the man after showing me where the track starts said that it was not safe to go. However, it was not worth going all the way back and round by Wirawila; so I told him he had better come with me and shoo them off. I went on and he followed some yards behind. The track was full of dung and my pony most uneasy and we had not gone 300 yards when I saw two elephants standing in the abandoned rubber

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

estate about 30 yards from the track. About 30 yards further on were about 15 others all huddled together apparently asleep. They looked like a herd of gigantic pigs, especially the little ones. I thought the man behind me would go back but he did not. The elephants apparently did not notice us until we were level with them, as the wind was blowing from them to us, although my pony was snorting furiously. As soon as we passed they must have got our wind for I was just congratulating myself on getting through when the man behind me began shouting that the elephants were coming after us and running after me. I let my pony go and he bolted down the track and across the river. The man disappeared from sight and though I waited for him on the other bank he did not appear. I assumed that he must have either climbed a tree or got round through the jungle to his house. I subsequently heard that he ran into the jungle and climbed a tree and waited until the herd cleared. I could not leave my pony by himself as he was in a state of panic nor could I take him back across the river so I had to go on to Andella from where I sent a message to find out what had become of the man.

SEPTEMBER 5th.

Routine.

I heard that one of the constables at Ranna against whom there have been so many complaints has been murdered at Okandeyaya almost hacked to pieces by kattis. There is, however, no evidence that he was in any way misbehaving himself this time, though why he and not the Station House Officer went on this enquiry is not apparent. One of the murderers is, I think, a habitual. I do not think this unfortunate occurrence should prejudice the case for the removal of the police from Ranna since as a matter of fact Okandeyaya should not be attached to Ranna at all being far nearer Tangalla and Walasmulla.

12. *Reported murder of a constable.*

SEPTEMBER 6th - 8th.

Routine.

LEONARD WOOLF

SEPTEMBER 9th - 11th

At Galle for Opium Committee meeting and C M R drill

SEPTEMBER 12th

13 *Kudawellekele*

To Nakulugamuwa and Kudawellekele where I once more inspected each lot of the disputed land, this time with the surveyor and the plan which is to be attached to the deeds. The object was to verify the boundaries some of which were disputed.

14 *The women divers and forests*

Drove on to Tangalla in afternoon. On the way met a large "deputation" of the women divers of Unakuruwa. The coral stones which they dive for as much as 200 or 300 yards from shore have been seized by the Forest Department as forest produce. Even the law, I think, can hardly include the sea in its definition of a forest. I am writing to the Assistant Conservator of Forests on the subject.

15 *The AC F subse-
quently re-
leased the
stones from
-et ure*

SEPTEMBER 13th

Inspection of town and circuit work
To Hambantota by afternoon coach

SEPTEMBER 14th

Routine

SEPTEMBER 15th - 17th

Routine. Mr Willet held court as Itinerating Police Magistrate.

SEPTEMBER 18th SUNDAY

SEPTEMBER 19th & 20th

Routine

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

SEPTEMBER 21st.

Held meeting of Agricultural Society in evening. First tried the new plough which I ordered from Colombo. It is the best plough I have tried as yet and I wish I had known of it before. It worked admirably in a piece of ground in front of the Kacheri. About 15 to 20 more ploughs have been bought by the Tissa people for the approaching cultivation. I am sending the Mudaliyar out there on 25th to make the people get ready and two Agricultural Inspectors will arrive about the same time.

16. *Agricultural Society Meeting.*
(a) *Ploughing*
(b) *Transplanting paddy.*

I laid before the local Society a proposal to try an experiment in transplanting paddy in the experimental garden at Tissa during the next cultivation.

The proposal was adopted.

SEPTEMBER 22nd AND 23rd.

Routine.

SEPTEMBER 24th.

Tried a case of assault on the Vidane Arachchi, Western Walakada, when entering a house in which it was alleged that illicit gaming was going on. Also the gambling case. 13 accused, and proctors from Matara and Tangalla which is a rarity here. I found them all guilty and gave two of them 6 weeks and one a month's rigorous imprisonment. They appealed.

17. *Assault on a headman*

In connection with the removal of the Ranna Police Station I have been working at the crime figures of this district during the last 3 years. The results which I give overleaf are interesting. One of the most curious facts is the shifting of crime from the Walasmulla to the Beliyatta circuit. Another is that the percentage of convictions to true cases is as good in Hambantota which is not policed as in the policed part of the district. In fact this year the percentage has risen to over 50%.

18. *Crime*

LEONARD WOOLF

	1907			1908			1909		
	(a) True Cases	(b) Convictions in (c) Percentage (a) True Cases Police Court & (b) to (a) Committals	(c) Convictions in (c) Percentage (a) True Cases Police Court & (b) to (a) Committals	(a) True Cases	(b) Convictions in (c) Percentage (a) True Cases Police Court & (b) to (a) Committals	(c) Convictions in (c) Percentage (a) True Cases Police Court & (b) to (a) Committals	(a) True Cases	(b) Convictions in (c) Percentage (a) True Cases Police Court & (b) to (a) Committals	(c) Convictions in (c) Percentage (a) True Cases Police Court & (b) to (a) Committals
Tangalla	76	21	27	69	20	29	67	24	35
Beliyatta	67	40	59	67	26	38	83	40	48
Walasmulla	104	54	51	81	37	45	57	26	45
Ranna	30	16	53	20	7	35	29	9	31
Hambantota	23	8	34	22	11	50	23	10	43
	300	138	46	259	101	39	259	109	42
TOTAL FOR 3 YEARS									
	(a) True Cases	(b) Convictions in Police Court & Committals				(c) Percentage of (b) to (a)			
Tangalla	212	656				30			
Beliyatta	217	106				48			
Walasmulla	242	117				48			
Ranna	79	32				40			
Hambantota	68	31				45			
Total Hambantota District	818	351				42			

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

SEPTEMBER 25th, SUNDAY.

Spent several hours over salt figures. Government sanctioned a proposal of mine last year that salt should be weighed at the lewayas as soon as possible after collection. This was to be an experiment. The Government Agent disbelieved in the utility and possibility of the proposal : and he has written to me pointing out that my experiment has proved a fiasco. If so, a good many rupees have been wasted. I have been very carefully into the figures and today wrote a long report on the subject giving the results obtained so far.*

SEPTEMBER 26th - 29th.

Routine.

SEPTEMBER 30th

The Excise Commissioners arrived by steamer on their way to Batticaloa. Went through the new registers with them. *Excise Commissioners.*

In evening visited hospital to see that everything is ready for the new opium system which begins tomorrow. Then went to take over licensed dealer's stock which was nil. Everything here is ready for the system to begin tomorrow. *The new Opium System.*

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A.

Miles travelled in district 102
Expended up to 30th September 1910—Rs. 1202.51

* Note. The subsequent report of A.G.A. shows the system is *not a 'fiasco'*. There has not yet been sufficient time to judge of the system. The early figures showed only very few results, and did not show what a very large amount of salt had been weighed shortly after collection. The CR's statement shows the bulk as 'unweighed'.

Sgd.

G.A. 4/10/12.



LEONARD WOOLF

OCTOBER 1910

OCTOBER 1st

1 *Court
Work*

Sat most of the day in the Police Court over a case of criminal trespass, in which parties had got proctors from Tangalla and the complainant had 13 witnesses. A stupid case in which I acquitted the accused.

OCTOBER 2nd, SUNDAY

Captain Slaughter A D C arrived to discuss arrangements for the proposed shooting trip of the Crown Prince of Germany.

OCTOBER 3rd

Routine

I hear the complainant in the case tried by me on Saturday is to move the Attorney General to appeal against the acquittal of accused.

OCTOBER 4th & 5th

Routine

OCTOBER 6th

2 *Tissa*

Drove and rode to Tissa in morning to start ploughing. Very little water in tanks and none yet available from Debarawewa. A heavy shower in afternoon. In evening started ploughing. There are two agricultural instructors here, one leaves tomorrow.

OCTOBER 7th

Ploughing

Rode round fields starting and superintending ploughing. Saw about 15 English ploughs in use. There is still great difficulty in getting the cultivators to use any sort of method. The result is that patches get left out and have to be done with the mammoth or the crop suffers. Spent 3/4 of an hour in one field before the man could be induced to go in a straight line. Inspected the school on my way back.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

Went out in evening again to see the ploughing. Also saw the threshing machine working. The people gave up using it because it did not thresh cleanly and because it broke the grain. I had carefully explained to them that if a particular screw was not screwed up or if they drove the machine too slowly it would not thresh cleanly and that if the screw was too much screwed up or if they drove it too fast, it would break the grain. No attention had been paid to the screw or the pace. It did not require 5 minutes to show that the machine could be adjusted to thresh admirably.

OCTOBER 8th.

Out ploughing all the morning and started work in the experimental garden which is to be ploughed for the transplanting of paddy.

Tried a Police Court case and enquiries in afternoon.

OCTOBER 9th, SUNDAY.

Rode and drove to Hambantota.

OCTOBER 10th - 14th.

Routine.

OCTOBER 15th.

Drove Bundala where salt collection is going on. The salt of this last formation is abnormally heavy, most bags weigh-^{4. Salt} *Collection.* ing considerably over 200 lbs. It will be interesting to see the effect of this upon wastage. Rode on to Kirinda where I inspected books and breakfasted and then on again to Palatupana. Sat up all night at a water hole and saw nothing.

OCTOBER 16th, SUNDAY.

Drove Tissa to meet the Secretary, Ceylon Agricultural ^{5. Ploughing]} Society, and the Assistant Director R.B.G. The former has come *at Tissa.* down in connection with ploughing, the latter for school gardens,

LEONARD WOOLF

and cotton. Tried a new cultivator with Mr. Driberg in morning. It was fairly successful. Also ploughing in evening. The people are really going in for the ploughing again this maha but unfortunately there is very little water in the tanks and the drought continues, so that many people have been unable to begin cultivation.

OCTOBER 17th.

6. *School Garden.*

Heavy rain last night fortunately. Inspected the school garden and ploughing with Dr. Lock. We tried cross ploughing to level the field and, I think, this will be the solution of the difficulty of expense which has occurred hitherto. In afternoon motored to Hambantota after trying two cases and holding an enquiry for the Assistant Conservator of Forests into a charge made against a Forest Guard.

OCTOBER 18th.

Routine.

OCTOBER 19th.

7. *Ranna.*

Motored to Ranna and rode from there to Kahandamodara Government school to inspect the school garden with Dr. Lock. In evening to Tangalla inspecting Palatuduwa school on way.

OCTOBER 20th.

8. *Cotton experiment.*

Motored to Walasmulla inspecting Moderawana and Walasmulla schools. On way back stopped at Wauwa and walked to Mr. Ratnayaka's estate to see the cotton which I got him to try. He has already sent a sample to Freudenberg's who report it to be worth from one to two shillings a pound. Dr. Lock thinks it is extremely promising. Mr. Ratnayaka is going to try a larger acreage this maha.

OCTOBER 21st.

9. *Tangalla water supply.*

At Tangalla verified cash in Treasury. Held D.R.C. meeting and inspected opium books at hospital and some works that have been completed by the Sanitary Board.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

In evening rode to Pahalagoda to see the Dutch well which I have restored. It is a magnificent well 16 feet deep and full of excellent water. There is a large never-failing spring here and I believe it should be quite possible to bring water into the town from it. I propose to move in the matter as the water supply of Tangalla is worse than satisfactory.

Yesterday I received a tender for removal of salt from Bundala lewaya for Rs. 2.10 per cwt. (? ton). This I consider to be a victory after two years fight with the Hambantota contractors. I reported two years ago that the contractors' rates for removal were far too high and that I should be allowed to try to hire carts for removal until the contractors showed reasonableness. The contractors' rates were as high as Rs. 1.20 per ton from Maha Lewaya and Rs. 2.80 from Bundala. They of course used all their influence with the carters to throw difficulties in the way of the new system : but for two years now I have been removing salt from Maha Lewaya by hiring carts myself at between 80 and 90 cents a ton and from Bundala at between Rs. 1.90 and Rs. 2.15 per ton — a saving of many thousands of rupees. This tender of Rs. 2.10 for Bundala shows, I think, that the contractors have at last given in. .

10. *Salt removal.*

OCTOBER 22nd.

Drove Kahawatta inspecting school, tavern site and market. Circuit work.

OCTOBER 23rd.

Drove Wiraketiya by the Dammulla road, part of which is being metalled by the D.R.C. this year.

11. *Wiraketiya.*

Circuit work. Rode Mananperigamwewa in Dimbulgoda to inspect the bund which has been cleared. The Irrigation Sub-Inspector solemnly reported that the extent of bund cleared was 5 acres.

Inspected road and bridges on the Gonadeniya road. The work is not so good as it might be.

LEONARD WOOLF

OCTOBER 24th.

12. *Tangalla* Drove Tangalla inspecting two village tanks and the new school site at Bedigama

Checked the books and stock of opium at the hospital
All correct

Land acquisition of site for P W D store The claimants cannot agree and refused to accept my offer It will have to go to the court.

Drove Ranna in evening inspecting a tank Welwewa near Netolpitiya.

OCTOBER 25th

13 *The Dog order.* Circuit work I shall have the greatest difficulty in West Giruwa pattu over the dog regulations The headmen have come to me in bodies to say that it is impossible to get Sinhalese to do the work. I do not know where I am to get a sufficient number of Tamils.

14 *Destruction of game*

Drove to Ambalantota and rode to Hambantota arriving well after dark. On the way an old man well known to me came up and told me that Mr Wijesinha, late Mudaliyar of East Giruwa pattu and Mr. de Vos at present Irrigation Superintendent Mamadola on October 11th shot sambhur at Jansagama At Ambalantota I happened to meet the Mudaliyar (Mr Doole), and questioned him about this He says that he has been told the same thing from a different source and that the statements are true but that he cannot get evidence as he had to go to Tangalla for a case and did not return until October 14th when it was impossible to do anything. I happen to know that poaching round Mamadola is worse than in almost any place in the district and it was only three weeks ago that I warned the headmen. I have no reason to doubt the present story. When an ex-Mudaliyar and an Irrigation Superintendent take to shooting game in the close season, it is a most difficult thing to get the minor headmen to do their duty, and almost impossible to prove the fact in court.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

OCTOBER 26th.

The salt collection has now ended for the year with the following result :—

15. *Record Salt collection.*

			Cwts.	lbs.
Bundala Lewaya	147,219	82
Maha	„	...	41,058	60
Palatupana	„	...	25,385	78
Godakalapuwa	„	...	9,798	68
Karagan	„	...	805	—
Koholankala	„	...	85	—
		Total	<u>224,352</u>	<u>64</u>

The largest total collection previously was 189,563 cwts. in 1893, so that we have beaten all previous records by 34,790 cwts. Moreover we collected salt on far fewer days this year than in 1893, and if I had not purposely stopped the collection at Palatupana (owing to the new regulation regarding the price of Kirinda salt) I could have raised the total to 300,000 cwts. I attribute this almost entirely to the fact that I never had any trouble with labour, while the difficulty in former years always appears to have been to get gatherers. This year I introduced the system of paying the gatherers at the end of each day's collection. The result was that there were none of the harpies at the lewayas discounting salt tickets, the gatherers got their full wages, came in great numbers and did not return to their villages until the collection ended. 147,219 cwts. collected at Bundala is also a record, the largest quantity ever collected in one lewaya being 122,269 cwts. at Bundala in 1898.

I have made a statement for each lewaya of the quantity of salt collected since 1856, and some interesting facts can be deduced from it. There is not much evidence that the productiveness of lewayas has decreased during the last 55 years.

16. *The productiveness of Lewayas.*

The average annual collection for the 30 years 1856-1885 is 67,068 cwts. and for the 25 years 1885-1910 it is 94,853 cwts. The four most productive lewayas are (1) Bundala, (2) Maha lewaya, (3) Palatupana, (4) Karagam. Of these Bundala produced 400,575 cwts. in the first 30 years and 1,162,405 cwts. in the last 25 years, so that the average annual output has risen from 13,352 to 46,496 cwts. The gross output of Palatupana was 412,079 in the first 30 years and 498,734 in the last 25 years—a rise in the average from 13,735 cwts. to 19,949 cwts. The other two lewayas show a decrease, Maha lewaya from an average of 20,349 cwts. to an average of 18,938 cwts. and Karagan lewaya from an average of 7,003 cwts. to an average of 1,922 cwts. It must, however, always be remembered that much depends upon the supply of labour. It is a most extraordinary fact that the average annual collection for the last seven years has been 157,853 cwts. while the average annual collection for the 55 years for which we have figures is only 79,704 cwts. I think this points to the fact that the labour conditions are better now than they used to be. Another most important point is the rainfall in November and December. The salt for instance in the Karagan and Koholankala lewayas forms but there is so little water in the lewayas owing to the small rainfall that the formation is only a thin film. I believe, if we had a few years of heavy rainfall in November and December and then dry from January to June, we should still get large collections in these lewayas.

17. *Salt
Dept. Staff.*

Credit is due to the Salt Superintendent Mr. Bahar for the results this year and great credit to Mr. Amarasinha, Store-keeper at Hambantota, who not only has all the work at the Hambantota stores but superintends the collections at the Maha lewaya. I must have paid at least 30 visits to that lewaya this year and it speaks well for Mr. Amarasinha that I have never failed to find him actually out looking after the collecting or weighing.

18. *Salt
production.
1856 - 1910*

I give below, as the figures are interesting, the output of salt from each lewaya for the periods 1856-1885 and 1886-1910 :—

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

	1856-1885			1886-1910	
	Total Cwts.	Average per year Cwts.		Total Cwts.	Average per year Cwts.
1. Maha lewaya	610,493	20349	(3)	473,465	18938
2. Palatupana	412,079	13735	(2)	498,734	19949
3. Bundala	400,575	13352	(1)	1,162,405	46496
4. Karagan	210,112	7003	(6)	48,066	1922
5. Jamburukala	183,149	6104	(5)	66,196	2647
6. Koholankala	131,498	4383	(4)	103,124	4124
7. Kirinda	19,526	650	(8)	2,812	112
8. Malalakala- puwa	18,186	606	(10)	414	16
9. Kalipitiya	17,844	594		—	—
10. Embila- kalapuwa	5,507	183	(9)	1,124	44
11. Hatagala	2,313	77		—	—
12. Julgaha- parappu	563	18		—	—
13. Buttawa	429	14		—	—
14. Godakalapuwa	—	—	(7)	15,144	605

OCTOBER 26th - 29th

Routine.

OCTOBER 30th, SUNDAY.

OCTOBER 31st.

Routine.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.

A.G.A.

Miles travelled

227.

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LEONARD WOOLF

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LEONARD WOOLF

NOVEMBER 1910

NOVEMBER 1st - 3rd

Routine

NOVEMBER 4th

Drove Weligatta after Kachcheri

The following is an interesting extract from the diary of the Game Sanctuary Ranger for October 21st —

“ I found a place where a crocodile have hidden eggs to be hatched it was just the time that the eggs hatching when I found it, I wait there about an hour to see how the young ones hatched out of the eggs, all 6 of them about minutes after hatching out he walked off into the water in that 5 minutes time he breathed in wind I try as soon after hatching before he take in wind and put him in the water, at once he turn backout of the water, and first take wind and then go back to the water ”

NOVEMBER 5th

To Tissa to meet Mr Denham on census work and *re* ploughing

2. *Ploughing*

The ploughing may, I think, be regarded as a success again this maha. Much of the work shows a great improvement on that of last year, though some of it is still of course very poor. A large extent will be cultivated and the Agricultural Inspector here estimates that 40 ploughs (English) are continually in use. About 30 new ploughs have been bought through me and—what I consider an encouraging sign—some people, I am told, have ordered ploughs direct from Colombo. The cultivation has been considerably hampered by want of water owing to the prolonged drought and an extension of cultivation will probably have to be granted. I am in hopes that the area cultivated will not fall below that cultivated last maha—it may possibly exceed it.

NOVEMBER 6th, SUNDAY

Census work with Mr Denham

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

NOVEMBER 7th.

Motored to Hambantota. Much work. Mr. Denham explained census work to the headmen.

NOVEMBER 8th.

Motored to Ranna with Mr. Denham checked numbering of houses. Then on to Tangalla.

NOVEMBER 9th.

Meeting of Headmen for census work. Mr. Denham went on to Matara and I returned by coach to Hambantota.

NOVEMBER 10th - 12th.

Routine.

NOVEMBER 13th, SUNDAY.

NOVEMBER 14th.

In Court nearly all day for a forgery and salt case which Mr. Loftus has been appointed to try. I introduced a system of checking the salt taken out of the district in carts to Badulla and other provinces. Lists of salt permits for removal are sent by me to the Government Agent and his headmen verify the permits and check the salt in the villages to which it is taken. The Government Agent, Uva, returned to me, pointing out that figures had been altered, three permits : he also informed me that bags in excess of the number given in the permits were found in the carts. I accordingly prosecuted for forgery and also under the Salt Ordinance. Mr. Loftus tried the salt case first : the evidence of the Uva Headmen in my opinion went to show that the man had probably not illicitly collected salt but had committed a technical offence. I wished him to be punished for this offence because it is one which makes the checking of salt removed on permits impossible. I was therefore astonished when Mr. Loftus fined him Rs. 378/-. The fine in my opinion is excessive and I should have liked therefore to withdraw the forgery case. This I could not do and it is being sent to the Attorney General. I am going to write to the Government Agent on the subject.

*3. A Salt case
& Excessive
Sentence.*

LEONARD WOOLF

NOVEMBER 15th.

4. *Shed horns
& game des-
truction.*

I have reported again to the Government Agent on my recommendation that the collection of shed horns be not sold again in this district. I am certain that there is nothing which encourages the destruction of game so much as the present system of selling the right by public auction. I believe that the ordinary slaughter of deer in the close season would be practically stopped in Magam Pattu given another year of the system adopted by me this year of heavy penalties on the culprits and large rewards for detection. But the gangs of men who go and collect horns on permits cannot be dealt with in this way. There is no doubt that they combine meat traffic with horn collecting and the latter is used as a cloak for the former. In this district which contains the sanctuary and the Resident Sportsmen's Reserve it is especially necessary, but to make it really effective the prohibition should be universal. What is really wanted is the prohibition of all traffic in horns and hides except under most stringent regulations. The possession in and removal from a district of all horns and hides should only be allowed on a permit stating the particulars in full. I have proposed that the game watchers shall be allowed to collect shed horns on their rounds on condition that they are handed over to me to be sold by public auction. The check would be perfect if regulations existed making the possession or removal of such horns illegal except on a permit.

NOVEMBER 16th & 17th.

Routine.

NOVEMBER 18th.

5. *Accidental
Shooting
cases.*

Went to hospital and took statement of a man who had been shot through the eye, cheek and shoulder last night. He said he had been out picking mushrooms early in the morning and had been shot by someone unknown, had no enemies, suspected no one. In afternoon I drove out to Walawe and inspected the spot. Took his wife's statement : one or two curious facts, i.e. she said she did not know what he had gone out for and the handkerchief and mushrooms which according to him

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

were by his side when he was shot were found by no one. When the surrounding jungle was searched a fresh skin of sambhur was found not 15 yards from where the man was shot. Now this jungle is not a place where anyone would go to shoot sambhur. My belief is that the man shot a young sambhur last night, and took the meat &c. home. Early this morning he went out to hide the skin in the jungle near his house. In crawling out of the bushes some other sportsman must have shot him in mistake for a pig.

It is a serious question whether all cases of shooting people in mistake for pigs &c. should not be committed for trial. In nine out of ten it is really a rash and negligent act, a blind shot at a noise in jungle and usually in darkness or semi-darkness. These cases are far too frequent in this district. Personally I should like to see it made an offence to carry a gun or fire a gun between sunset and sunrise except under such circumstances as driving elephants off cultivated land. In this connection I am sorry to hear that the Chena Muhandiram W.G.P. is going to be charged with causing the death of an old woman by shooting her when shooting hare.

NOVEMBER 19th.

Walked to Mamadola, mostly over the fields. Nearly ^{6. Record} the whole extent under Walawe must be cultivated this year : ^{cultivation at} *Walawe.* certainly a far larger extent than has ever been cultivated before. I asked the Kanuketiya Lower V.A. the reason and his reply was peculiarly naive. "In previous years chena cultivation was far more paying than paddy cultivation because although a man was allowed say 2 kurunies on Crown permit, he always cleared about 12, under the new regulations introduced this year, if a man is given 2 kurunies, he cannot clear more than two kurunies and so it pays him better to cultivate paddy". The new regulations which I introduced this year are really quite simple. The Vidane Arachchis have to measure out the chenas and hand them over to the cleavers and get a signed statement from the latter that the chenas were measured in their presence and the boundaries shown to them. The Vidane

LEONARD WOOLF

Arachchis have at the same time to cut their initials on a tree at each of the four corners of the square measured by them. That this system is effective is shown by the following facts: (1) In some divisions the villagers have refused to take chenas at all on these terms, (2) In some divisions where the regulations have been properly carried out the Chena Mohandiram reports that there are practically no "excess clearings", which in previous years have always swelled the extent of chena clearing.

I may add that another reason for the large extent cultivated under Walawe this year is the fact that the want of rain in West Giruwa Pattu has enabled the Walawe people to employ West Giruwa Pattu cattle for cultivation.

7 *A petition enquiry*

In afternoon held enquiries. One of them made me regret that one cannot enquire into every petition personally. In this particular case the petitioner appeared *prima facie* to have no case at all and I had already told her so. She petitioned again and I put it down for circuit. It was only after minute enquiries on the spot that I found that she was really losing her land in a most unjust and unfortunate manner.

NOVEMBER 20th, SUNDAY.

Rode Liyangahatota.

NOVEMBER 21st.

8 *Uswewa*

Rode to Uswewa where I enquired into the cases of people requiring chenas. I am travelling without the Pattu Mudaliyar who has to go to Tangalla for a case and without an interpreter. The result is—what I have noted with astonishment before—that as soon as one goes into a village, the people bring out for settlement all the disputes which they seem to have hoarded for one's peculiar benefit for years. Tottering old men and women come up and with tears in their eyes tell you how paths to their houses have been blocked up and they have no means of getting to their gardens from the roads or to the roads from their gardens. After enquiry it turns out that all this happened in the time of their great grandfathers. It was half past eleven before I got

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

out of Uswewa and even then a man prayed me to come "not more than half a mile" to see a koratuwa over which he was fighting his neighbours.

In evening walked towards Sabaragamuwa boundary behind Metigatwela wewa inspecting chenas. Very heavy rain.

NOVEMBER 22nd.

Rode Angunakolapelessa and then walked to the end of the Walawe main channel and back. This is the place where I am getting a channel cut from the main channel to Mulana tank. There have been innumerable difficulties but I think it will now be completed. Part of the work is to be done from the Fine Fund and part by the people themselves. I walked over the trace getting back to Angunakolapelessa at 11 a.m. Circuit work and much tappal in afternoon.

9. *Mulana Tank.*

NOVEMBER 23rd.

Rode Hongama, drove Ambalantota after holding an enquiry at Hatagala. In evening to Hambantota.

NOVEMBER 24th to 26th.

Routine.

NOVEMBER 27th, SUNDAY.

Drove to 6th milestone on Tissa road and walked up through jungle to Julgama tank. The Malala ara has been in flood for some days—a thing which has not happened for many years. Consequently Julgama tank is full. It is when in the rare years we do get rain that one sees the utility of keeping the people at the restoration of these village tanks. It is a fine sheet of water in Julgama now and a very different sight from two Sundays ago when I went shooting there and the tank was stone dry. I examined the bund and it looks to me far from safe in places. I am glad to see that people have already come to cultivate and are camping on high ground in the middle of the paddy fields. I also had a look at Udamalala tank which has also filled and they tell me that Keligama is also filling.

10. *Good prospects in Magampattu.*

LEONARD WOOLF

All these are fed by the Malala ara which is still running but not in flood.

11. *Tangalla Water supply*

Wrote a report to Government on the Pahalagoda well and my proposal to bring water from it to Tangalla. (ing confident that this is the only reasonable chance of get at a water supply for Tangalla. What is wanted is a most moder scheme. I suggest a wind pump and small pipes with stand posts say at Medaketigoda and the bazaar. It is roughly 2 miles from Pahalagoda to the bazaar and if only a small diameter pipe is laid the cost should not be prohibitive. The estimate for the Ambala scheme was Rs. 170,000/- but the water had to be brought 8 miles and the scheme was altogether too ambitious.

NOVEMBER 28th - 30th.

Routine.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.

A.G.A.

Miles travelled

169

Expended up to date

Rs. 1,472.18

DECEMBER 1910

DECEMBER 1st.

1. *A curious sentence.*

Sometime ago an elephant was shot illicitly in East Giruwa Pattu. Two men were prosecuted and have now been found guilty and sentenced to a fine of Rs. 30/- each in the Tangalla Police Court. It follows that it costs Rs. 100/- to shoot at an elephant legally, and Rs. 30/- to shoot an elephant illegally. I have asked that the Attorney General be moved to appeal as the sentence is inadequate. Sometime ago I sentenced a man for a similar offence to 2 months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100/- and he did not appeal. In both cases the

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

offence was committed deliberately for the sake of the feet which were cut off. They are sold about Rs. 20/- I believe. There are several cases of this kind every year.

For the first time for years most of the village tanks in Magampattu have filled. Unfortunately the people have no seed paddy. I am making arrangements to advance seed paddy from gansabhawa funds, as it is absolutely necessary. There has not been much rain in Hambantota itself but right across the north of Magampattu there has been plenty. 2. *Village Tanks.*

DECEMBER 2nd.

Drove and rode to Tissa. Rinderpest has again broken out at Magama and Ranakeliya. It seems to be beginning again in many different places, probably brought out by the rain.

I have granted 14 days extension of cultivation at Tissa as the cultivation could not owing to drought begin at the right time. So far the cultivation has been most successful. About 3,150 acres have been already cultivated which is more than last maha. Of these about 2,420 have been ploughed, 570 mudded and 150 worked with the mamotty. About 350 acres have been ploughed with English ploughs. The total extent cultivated finally should be very nearly a record for Tissa. 3. *Ploughing at Tissa.*

DECEMBER 3rd.

To Katagomuwa. Owing to rain the first part of the road was almost impassable and a halt had to be made at Gal-ara for breakfast.

DECEMBER 4th, SUNDAY.

To Talgasmankada. I intended sending my carts on to Kumana and walking along the northern boundary of the Game Sanctuary to meet them 2 days later sleeping out two nights. The Game Sanctuary Ranger reports that the northern boundary requires clearing and the object of my circuit is to inspect it before the estimates for next year go in. But my 4. *Talgasmankada.*

LEONARD WOOLF

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4. *Talgas-mankada.*

LEONARD WOOLF

original programme is now impossible as it is not now possible to get carts through to Kumana, the great Potana plain being flooded and I have not enough men to carry things for 5 days. Also my bulls have nearly collapsed and will have to rest tomorrow. I propose therefore to go out one day's march from Talgasmandakada along the boundary leaving my carts at Talgasmandakada and sleeping in a cave some 12 miles away and exploring from there. This will give me a sufficiently good idea of the condition of this line.

DECEMBER 5th.

At Talgasmandakada, rain. The game is not as plentiful as last year and is rather shy. I have seen no really good heads.

DECEMBER 6th.

5. *Game
Sanctuary
Northern
Boundary.*

Started early along the boundary, 10 game watchers, 3 coolies, my dogboy as cook. We crossed the river a mile above Katagomuwa from which the boundary starts. For about 5 or 6 miles it is merely a 10 foot line which was cut through the jungle about 7 years ago. It then joins a delightful stream Kurundara which forms the boundary for another 6 miles. The first six miles are fairly clear. After going 2 or 3 miles one comes out on Ruganwewa, a fine open place. In a small pool here were seven wild buffaloes all bulls and feeding near a fair sized herd of deer. The deer here are very different from those at Talgasmandakada, not at all shy. I have seen no good heads however.

After 12 miles (estimated) pretty heavy walking—it took 5 hours—we reached Wadambagala where I proposed to spend the night. It is a very high and precipitous rock, one of, if not the highest in the Sanctuary I should think. We found a very good fairly dry cave and had a much needed meal of curry and rice. It rained fairly heavily in the afternoon and so we did not go out again but spent the evening trying to get our clothes dry.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

DECEMBER 7th.

It rained heavily at night and a small stream ran through the cave but there was room enough for everyone to find a dry spot. There is a peculiar beetle in this cave of whose bite the watchers told alarming stories. At six we started off to inspect the boundary further east leaving most of our party at the cave. I inspected another 3 miles and it is terribly overgrown here and according to the ranger it is the same almost all the way to the Kumbukkan river. The rain was wet, but the jungle was far wetter, and I think I was wettest. I did not think I could have been wetter but I did not then know what the afternoon had in store for us.

At 12.30 we started back to Talgasmanakada; it rained heavily the whole time. Most of the jungle was under water. In most places one walked in mud and water above the ankle, in many above the knee. We had fears that the river would have risen and cut us off from our carts but happily we were spared this last catastrophe. The last three miles was through a lake of mud with some firm patches. A cold bath in this district is often a luxury but to stay in it for seven hours is excessive. I have never been colder than when we reached the dripping tents at Talgasmanakada.

DECEMBER 8th.

It rained heavily all night, the river rose and in the early morning had reached our tent pegs. The roads are flooded and no carts can get through. We shall have to stop another day here. Very soon the river had flooded the camping ground and I have had to move into the watchers' huts which are also occupied by them and my two ponies. The river has risen another foot in the last half hour. It is still raining and the river is not now many feet below the watcher's huts. If it continues to rise, I am afraid it will overflow the country and in that case I do not know what will happen. No cart can get away at present, I think.

LEONARD WOOLF

We had to abandon the watch huts, cut a path through the jungle and pitch our tents on some high ground in the opening. There we spend the night.

DECEMBER 9th.

9. *Country under water.*

It rained less during the night and I determined to try to push on at all costs today. We started at 6 and at 12.15 the carts had done $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, for a mile the water was above the axles. We breakfasted at 1 in an open space and the sun shone for a few minutes. All the deer are out in the openings now as the jungles are flooded.

The carts did another $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles before dark and we camped near Andunoruwa tank. Nearly the whole $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles was through water 2 to 3 feet deep. The watch station at Yala has had to be abandoned as it is under water, and the watchers' families are living on rough platforms made of sticks.

The only thing to be grateful for is that the Crown Prince's visit to this part was abandoned.

DECEMBER 10th.

10. *Vilapalawewa.*

Fine weather at last. The carts got through to Buttawa for breakfast and to Vilapalawewa in the evening. At Vilapalawewa there were two small buffalo calves who had lost their mother. We tried to catch them but they were too shy and got away into the jungle. I expect they will provide a meal for some leopard.

DECEMBER 11th, SUNDAY.

To Kirinda.

DECEMBER 12th. Government Holiday.

Rode Bundala for breakfast and then to Hambantota in the evening sending my carts by the main road.

DECEMBER 13th.

11. *Murder in Magam Pattu.*

During my absence on circuit there has been a most cold blooded murder at Malasnegalwewa which Mr. Willett came down especially to enquire into as Police Magistrate. I have previously pointed out the inconvenience of there being no

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

Unofficial Police Magistrate here to take non-summary proceedings during my absence on circuit. In this case the velvidane deliberately shot the acting Vidane Arachchi from behind and then walked a mile to shoot the ex-Vidana Arachchi, the acting V.A.'s father. He found the old man digging in his garden and shot him dead. He then went to the Mudaliyar and gave himself up.

DECEMBER 14th.

Routine.

DECEMBER 15th.

When I came back on 12th, I was not expected in the town until 13th. About 100 persons had come from Galle, Matara, Tangalla and Tissa for the purpose of gambling here. I was told that the Sergeant was conniving and that he and the Mudaliyar had quarrelled over this. I made arrangements to receive immediate information from another source if gambling began again. Last night about midnight I received a message that it had started again. I sent word to Mr. Doole Mudaliyar of East Giruwa Pattu whom I had instructed to remain in Hambantota for the purpose, to keep watch and inform me of a favourable opportunity as watchers were said to be "keeping cave". At 1.30 a.m. Mr. Doole came to my bungalow and told me that gambling was going on at two houses. At 2 a.m. we got to the first and after sending men round to the back door I went on to the verandah. Eight persons were gambling and one was lying asleep on a couch. Among them were the Police Sergeant himself, the Vidana Arachchi of Tissa and the Mudaliyar's clerk. It was an extremely diverting sight to see their faces when I put my head in at the door. I prosecuted them all except the Sergeant in the Gansabhawa this morning and they were fined. I am dealing with the Sergeant departmentally.

DECEMBER 16th.

Routine.

DECEMBER 17th.

Routine.

Finished my enquiry into the Sergeant's conduct.

LEONARD WOOLF

DECEMBER 18th, SUNDAY.

Since I have got back on 12th owing to accumulations and this gambling business and much Police Court work I have had five days on none of which I have worked less than 10 hours and it took me five hours to finish working off the arrears

DECEMBER 19th.

Routine.

DECEMBER 20th.

Routine. Drove and rode to Ranna in evening.

DECEMBER 21st.

13. D.R.C.
Meeting
Roads.

Tangalla D.R.C. and Sanitary Board meetings to vote expenditure for 1911. It was decided to do what I have before thought would be the right policy in the D.R.C. to cut out everything voted for gravel on most of the roads and with the money saved to take up one road and metal it. Year after year we vote money for a few cubes of so-called gravel—it is really mud—per mile over all the roads and it is simply money thrown away. We have by this innovation saved enough money to metal practically the whole of the Dammulla Wiraketiya road—a most important road and one which two years ago was almost impassable. Produce can now be taken direct from the middle of East Giruwa pattu over the Gonadeniya road which I opened last year and then by the Dammulla Road to Belyatta bazaar a distance of about 20 miles. Two years ago, it would have had to be taken well over 30 miles, a considerable portion of which was to all intents and purposes impassable.

DECEMBER 22nd to 28th.

On leave.

DECEMBER 29th - 31st.

Routine.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A.

Miles travelled
Expended up to date

177
Rs. 1,599.68 cents.

DIARY FOR 1911

JANUARY 1911

JANUARY 1st to 3rd.

Holidays spent at Ranna.

JANUARY 4th.

Routine.

JANUARY 5th.

The total area cultivated under the Walawe scheme this maha is 3,879 acres or 1,102 acres more than last maha. It is over 100 acres more than has ever been recorded to have been cultivated under this scheme. As I stated in my last diary—when I anticipated a record cultivation after visiting East Giruwa Pattu—this is largely due to the new chena regulations.

1. *Maha cultivation under Walawe.*

JANUARY 6th and 7th.

Routine.

JANUARY 8th, SUNDAY.

JANUARY 9th and 10th.

Routine and a good deal of it in court. I found a man guilty of giving a bribe to the Police Sergeant and sentenced him to pay a fine of Rs. 100/-. I am not sure that I ought not to have sent him to jail. This was a case in connection with the gambling in Hambantota. The sergeant reported to me that he had been given the bribe of Rs. 33/-.

2. *Bribery.*

In another case, a lad had been taken into police custody on a charge of misappropriating a gold watch. The only evidence against him was his own contradictory statements. After he

3. *Methods of Police Inquiry*

LEONARD WOOLF

had been detained about 24 hours, it was brought to my knowledge by the usual weeping woman. The methods of police investigation were a very good example of what is so frequently condemned in the report of the Indian Police Commission—investigation, nil; method, obtain a confession; result, acquittal.

JANUARY 11th.

4. *Beragama
Census work.*

To Beragama in morning on a circuit which is very seldom done and is not altogether pleasant to the remote villages of Magam pattu I spent $2\frac{1}{4}$ hours getting a police officer to enumerate a house in exactly the way in which he will have to enumerate them at the Preliminary Census next month. Unless it is seen and heard, the stupidity of the headmen in these villages would not be believed.

5. *Village
Tanks*

In the evening inspected two tanks Hondawelpokuna and Bellagaswewa 2 and 3 miles from Palle Beragama. The villagers want them exempted. They are almost the only two village tanks in Magam Pattu which have not got some water this year. A considerable amount of work had been done on them last year—which the elephants are doing their best to destroy. A considerable number of buffaloes appear to have outlived the rinderpest here.

JANUARY 12th.

6. *Koggalla
Rodiyas.*

To Koggalla. Spent 3 hours with the Koggalla Police Officer enumerating a house. It happened to be a house belonging to one of the few Rodiya families in the district. The youngest daughter of the house aged 2 is called Jotiratna—apparently the lower the caste the higher the name. Another curious point—these Rodiyas can nearly all read and write Sinhalese: they get people specially to the house to teach them: even the older men have learnt although very few of the older men in this kind of village of other castes are literate. The Police Officer of Koggalla is even more stupid than the Police Officer of Beragama. In evening walked Rodiyagama and back to the tank there. It is full of water and so are the fields. They will be cultivated when the water subsides: so will the Koggalla fields.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

JANUARY 13th.

Walked to Andarawewa. This is a depopulated country ^{7, Andarawewa, Beddawewa, & Suriyawewa.} which I have not seen before. There is no longer any village at Andarawewa : the inhabitants all died or left some five years ago. One old man who came with me used to live there. He owns land under the tank : its only use to him is that a year or two ago he went to jail for not doing earthwork. This tank must be struck off or the land sold to people who can restore the tank. Breakfasted at Andarawewa and walked on to Suriyawewa. Inspected Beddawewa on way. There is cultivation of a few amunams here, but there is very little water in the tank. There is also cultivation under Suriyawewa. Tried a case of mischief by cutting unripe maize and convicted, the moon was so bright that I could write without a light.

These villages are decimated by malaria. It is an awful ^{8. Fever in Magampattu.} sight to see the children. In Beddawewa tank I saw a child of about five standing and pouring water over himself. He was a palid yellow colour, absolutely skin and bones, but his belly was about three times the size of the rest of the body. His uncle with whom he lives "gave him quinine the maha before this" i.e. in 1909. The Police Officer had no quinine, it takes him two days to get to Hambantota. I told the uncle that the child would die if allowed to go on like that and he replied "Probably he will die : most of our families here are dying". I had the child taken into Hambantota, but there are any number of similar cases.

JANUARY 14th.

Walked and rode Migahajandura where I camp. Inspected ^{9. Migahajandura, Kumbukwewa.} Weliwewa school on way ; 35 children present. Went to Ihala Kumbukwewa and did census work. The Police Officer here understands the work better.

There is water in Migahajandura wewa, Pahala Kumbukwewa and Ihala Kumbukwewa. Under the first and third tanks there is some cultivation but the prospects are not nearly as

LEONARD WOOLF

bright under these Magam Pattu village tanks this year as I was led to suppose. Earthwork has made substantial progress however since my last visit.

At Ihala Kumbukwewa I saw a snake which I was informed should it fall on or even touch a man's back will cause him to be hump-backed for the remainder of his days

JANUARY 15th, SUNDAY.

10 *Elalla* To Elalla. Inspected on the way Bogaha Indiwewa, Kuda and Maha Indiwewa. There is water in the first and last and they are in fair order. Kuda Indiwewa has breached. The Migahajandura people are cultivating 5 acres under Maha Indiwewa. The village of Indiwewa has died out since my last visit in 1909

11 *Ranawarnawewa.* At Elalla I did census work and in the evening walked to Ranawarnawewa and back. I remember in 1909 the bund was in a very poor state. It was better last year and it has now been completed. It is very good work. The system of surveying these village tank bunds is having excellent results. They were mudding some acres under this tank which has a very good store of water in it

JANUARY 16th

12 *Kurundana and Landejulana* To Landejulana via Kurundana. I have not actually been in these villages before. They consist of 2 or 3 huts. The Kurundana tank has plenty of water in it, cultivation will begin in a fortnight. There is little water in Landejulana wewa. Landejulana was in former times the first halting place on the road to Badulla.

13 *Alutwewa Chenas* Did census work at Alutwewa $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Landejulana and a village with 10 or 12 houses in it. Made the P.O. enumerate one. He is an old man who enumerated at the census of 1891 and 1901. The family which I hit on was a family which 6 months ago came and settled here from Pallegama in East Giruwa Pattu. This is a good example of what happens in

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

this kind of district when chenas are stopped. Pallegama is a village near Hatagala and very nearly touches the main road from Tangalla to Hambantota. It is not an unhealthy village and there are paddy lands which get water from the Kachchigal ara and the end of the Walawe main channel. It used to be allowed chenas, but they are not really necessary there and I stopped them last year. Alutwewa is a mere desolation, a clearing in a hot and waterless interminable stretch of jungle. It is one of the villages in which it is absolutely necessary to allow chenas. And so this man left Pallegama as soon as chenas were stopped there and removed himself with his wife and three children to this wilderness. And if chenas are stopped here, he will move off to Uva or Sabaragamuwa until he finds another place where chenas are allowed. I could not want a better proof of what I said last year, that the only way in which chenas can be really stopped is by a method which eventually means extermination of the persons who now live by chena cultivation.

In the evening rode to Keliyawalana tank which is under 14. *Bada-* restoration. The land under it is owned by the Treasury Officer, *giriya*, Tangalla. Then walked to Badagiriya dagoba ruins which is at the end of the large ancient tank of Badagiriya. The restoration of this tank was much recommended by Mr. Horsburgh : the Malala ara flows into it. The rock on which stand the ruins of the dagoba is a high one. I climbed up and just as I reached the top a big sambhur with a fine head broke out of a clump of high grass, where he had been lying up, not 15 yards from me. He went down the rock by the way, I had come up, like a flash but seeing half way down a man who was following me with my rifle he turned aside to where the rock drops sheer and with a magnificent bound leapt out and down to the jungle 30 feet below. He was apparently unhurt as I heard him crashing away through the jungle.

JANUARY 17th.

To Hambantota. On my way inspected Keligama tank. 15. *Keligama*. This fine large tank has plenty of water in it. A considerable

LEONARD WOOLF

amount of work has been done on the bund and some amunams will be cultivated under it It belongs partly to Walawe and partly to Koholankala people and there are always quarrels between them

Much routine work awaiting me

JANUARY 18th

16 *Record*
revenue in
1910 The revenue for 1910 in this district has beaten all records amounting to Rs 591,628 35 The best year previously was 1908 when the revenue was Rs 581,441

JANUARY 19th

17 *Imprisonment.* There is a considerable improvement in the working of the Thoroughfares Ordinance in 1910 The percentage of persons who discharge their liability has risen from 92 42 in 1909 to 94 44 in 1910 24,676 paid commutation out of 26,257 liable in 1910, while 23,955 paid commutation out of 26,394 liable in 1909 Government last year expressed itself as dissatisfied with the reasons which I gave for the fact that so large a number of persons in this district were fined or imprisoned for default in 1909—though I never heard what the final judgment of Government was in the matter It is interesting to see that whereas I sentenced 343 persons to fine or imprisonment in 1909, in 1910 I sentenced only 86 (155 went to jail in 1909 and 45 in 1910) I thought perhaps that unconsciously I might have been influenced by the Government's calling for explanation and biased towards clemency but the figures prove that this is not the case for I exempted only 889 in 1910 as against 961 in 1909 Again there were 1966 persons accounted for as died, paid elsewhere &c in 1909 and only 1,459 in 1910, and whereas there were 33 persons unaccounted for on the last day of 1909 there were no persons unaccounted for on the last day of 1910 I think the deduction is fair that if the Ordinance is enforced strictly the persons who have wilfully neglected to perform their liability eventually learn that it is better to perform it

JANUARY 20th

Routine

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

JANUARY 21st.

Routine: To Ranna after Kachcheri.

JANUARY 22nd, SUNDAY.

In afternoon to Tangalla, on the way enquired into some cultivation matters at Netolpitiya.

JANUARY 23rd.

The President who was acting as Mudaliyar of West Giruwa Pattu for a month reported much distress in Kirama division from fever and want of food. I arranged to meet the Chena Muhandiram who lives at Kirama and the Mudaliyar who has just returned from leave, early this morning. There is no doubt that there is a bad outbreak of fever but after enquiry I am convinced that as I suspected—the “distress” has been considerably exaggerated by the headmen who are very much concerned at my stopping chenas. After seeing the Muhandiram and Mudaliyar I went to the hospital to see the District Medical Officer whom I had already asked to visit the division. An apothecary had been sent to itinerate and distribute quinine. After consulting the District Medical Officer I wired to the Government Agent and asked him to move the Provincial Surgeon to discontinue vaccination temporarily at Walasmulla and employ the vaccinator on quinine distribution. I also obtained a large quantity of quinine from the hospital for distribution by the headmen.

18. Reported
“Distress” in
Kirama.

Inspected the hospital and the prison : everything in order.

19. Hospital &
Jail Inspec-
tion.

In afternoon went to Rev. Mr. Tambimuttu’s S.P.G schools, English and Vernacular. These schools are, I think, exceptionally well managed and are in a flourishing condition, especially the English school.

20. Tangalla
School.

Later completed so far as Government is concerned the acquisition of land for improvement of the P.W.D. store at Tangalla. At the original enquiry I offered the claimants Rs. 1,049/-. Three accepted and one demanded Rs. 1,525/-. The

21. Acquisi-
tion of Land.

LEONARD WOOLF

land is not worth a cent more than Rs. 1,049/-, so I proposed to refer the matter to court. However, I was ordered to have the claimants up again and give them what the one claimant asked. The result is that Government is paying Rs. 4,000/- an acre for the bare soil in Tangalla so that whenever land for public purposes is required in future an equally absurd demand will be made. Government is spending Rs. 5,000/- on this work (it is described in the estimates under the misnomer "Reconstructing P.W.D. Store Tangalla" it is far more the construction of a circuit bungalow) but Government yearly refused Rs. 1,000/- to the Tissa roads which would benefit hundreds of people.

JANUARY 24th.

22. *Agricultural Meeting*

Held a very largely attended meeting to consider the question of forming an Agricultural Society for West Giruwa pattu at which many eloquent speeches in the vernacular were delivered. Dr. Willis and Mr. Driberg who had come especially for the purpose addressed us. A society was formed and it was decided to hold a show. This will be, I suppose, a big show—I have never encouraged the holding of one and I am not sorry that this will take place when I have left. I do not believe they aid agriculture or horticulture in the slightest degree though they are admirable instruments of advertisement. I do not of course include in this village shows such as we are going to have at Tissa next month.

23. *Kudawellekele dispute finally settled*

Almost the whole day was occupied with the final scene in the Kudawellekele dispute settlement. Over 20 deeds were signed and Mr. Wickremasuriya conveyed the land to 26 of the people, who disputed his title, for Rs. 5,051/- which was paid over in my presence. This was in accordance with my original settlement and I think I have some reason to be proud of having eventually settled it. It is exactly one year ago since I interfered in this dispute, which had already been the cause of many civil and innumerable criminal cases, and offered to arbitrate. There were two civil cases pending at that time. Since then my original settlement, accepted by both parties at

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

the time, has three times fallen through, twice through one party and once through the other but by keeping on at them I have got them at last to sign the deeds. If it had fallen through altogether, in addition to the appalling waste of money over the litigation, there would certainly have been bloodshed as there was much bad blood between the parties, and we should have been obliged to have quartered punitive police in the village. The actual settlement was a most complicated affair, the whole block of land had to be surveyed into small lots and conveyed to the 26 different squatters. Not only was there the difficulty of settling the original dispute, for the squatters denied Mr. Wickremasuriya's title ; but there was continual dispute between the squatters as to the extent and boundaries of the lots to be conveyed to each. The difficulty of getting each of these 26 persons to pay up his or her share of the Rs. 5,051/- and even to attend to sign the deeds may be imagined. The actual signing took so long that it was very late before I got away from Tangalla and rode to Ranna after dark.

JANUARY 25th.

Started 6 a.m. and met the Mudaliyar E.G.P. with 16 enumerators at Bata-ata and enumerated a house there and another at Hatagala testing each man. They are far better than I expected. Breakfasted at Hatagala and went on to Ekassa and did the same with 16 more enumerators there : these were extraordinarily bad. Reached Ambalantota 6 p.m.

24. *Census-work in E.G.P.*

JANUARY 26th.

Rode Hambantota.
Routine.

JANUARY 27th.

Inspected the new Government Tamil school which has started this week. I have got a teacher, a young Jaffna Tamil, who has been trained at the Training College. This school is going to be a great success I think. There were 186 children present of whom 75 were girls. I expect the average attendance to be from 250 to 300 if properly looked after. It makes a vast

25. *New Govt. School opened for Hambantota*

LEONARD WOOLF

difference already in the Hambantota streets which are usually swarming with children and are now quite peaceful. The school is now under the Town Schools Ordinance and the Sanitary Board, if the board loses all the opium revenue at the end of the year (and goes bankrupt) the District School Committee must take this school over.

26 *Jaffna in Hambantota*

In evening went to see Mr Bahar's garden. He has dug a well, put up a regular Jaffna well sweep and irrigates on the Jafina system. The result is a remarkably good vegetable garden. I hope other people in the town follow his example.

JANUARY 28th

Routine

JANUARY 29th, SUNDAY

Went to Julgama tank and back

JANUARY 30th AND 31st

Routine

Sgd L S Woolf
A G A

Expended up to date
Miles travelled

Rs 1,753 80
156

FEBRUARY 1911

FEBRUARY 1st

Routine

1 *The crime of the District in 1910*

I have now got the crime figures for 1910 and I annex a statement which shows the state of crime for the last 4 years. It is satisfactory to find a slight decrease of 7 to 8% in the number of true cases of serious crime. The other figures are by no means altogether encouraging, those for the Tangalla and Beli-yatta police stations are most disappointing. For the Tangalla

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

Police Station there were convictions in only 23% and for Beliyatta in only 22% of true cases. 70% of the Tangalla and 53% of the Beliyatta true cases were lettered Fd or Fe by the Police Magistrate, i.e. the case was a true case but the evidence was insufficient to convict anyone or the offender was unknown. Even for Walasmulla, where the conviction figures are much better, 45% of the cases were lettered Fd or Fe.

1907

	1. True Cases	2. Convictions in Police Court and Committals	3. Percentage of 1 to 2
Tangalla	76	21	27
Beliyatta	67	40	59
Walasmulla	104	54	51
Ranna	30	16	53
Hambantota	23	8	34
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> 300 <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> 139 <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> 46 <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>

1908

Tangalla	69	20	29
Beliyatta	67	26	38
Walasmulla	81	37	45
Ranna	20	7	35
Hambantota	22	11	50
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> 259 <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> 101 <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> 39 <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>

1909

Tangalla	67	24	35
Beliyatta	83	40	48
Walasmulla	57	26	45
Ranna	29	9	31
Hambantota	23	10	43
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> 259 <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> 109 <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> 42 <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>

LEONARD WOOLF

1910

	1. True Cases.	2 Convictions in Police Court and Committals	3. Percentage of 1 to 2
Tangalla	64	15	23
Beliyatta	62	14	22
Walasmulla	64	34	53
Ranna	29	12	37
Hambantota	16	8	50
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	235	83	35
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total for 4 years 1907 - 1910			
Tangalla	276	80	29
Beliyatta	279	120	40
Walasmulla	306	151	49
Ranna	108	44	40
Hambantota	84	37	44
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1059	432	40
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

FEBRUARY 2nd.

Work. Drove Weligatta after Kachcheri.

FEBRUARY 3rd.

2. Cotton.

To Tissa. Inspected experimental garden where I have the highland planted with Egyptian cotton and the field with paddy transplanted. The cotton is doing well, far better than last year.

As to the transplanting of paddy, the crop appears to be extremely good, but not as good as I expected. It is estimated that we shall get about 17 amunams out of the amunam's extent sown. It will cost us about Rs. 55/- and it is thought that our shares of the crop will amount to about Rs. 85/-. If so,

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

then we are making as land owner Rs. 30/- per amunam as against Rs. 15/- or Rs. 20/- which is the ordinary rent. The figures are estimated merely and even so, I think, they are possibly optimistic. The great objection to transplanting is the difficulty of labour. It took an absurdly large number of women to transplant this $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres and enormously increased the cost. There is not a man in Tissa who is not convinced that transplanting is out of the question.

The maha crop looks altogether extremely good this year and the mere fact that people are beginning to discuss whether the ploughed fields have a better crop than previously is a good sign. 4. *The Maha Crop.*

FEBRUARY 4th.

Paid a surprise visit to Wirawila in consequence of a petition regarding rinderpest. The petitioner asserted that there was rinderpest among certain buffaloes in the jungle : the headman denied this. I got hold of the petitioner and told him to take me to the dead and dying animals. He walked me round and round the jungle for hours but eventually we found a buffalo dying of rinderpest and a carcass being burnt. 5. *Rinderpest*

In afternoon the village Agri-Horticultural show came off. On the whole it was successful. Mr. Driberg, Secretary C.A.S. came down for it and he said it was as good as it could be expected for a first attempt. There was a large attendance. 6. *Agricultural show.*

FEBRUARY 5th, SUNDAY.

Rode Bundala.

There is I think a distinct improvement in the condition of the Tissa channels &c. which reflects great credit on Mr. Wilson, Irrigation Engineer. He has also made great progress with the Right Bank Scheme and I understand that the Yodakandiya tank will probably be completed by the end of the year. Meanwhile when is the Surveyor-General going to survey the land under it ? 7. *The Tissa- and Yodakandiya Schemes*

LEONARD WOOLF

FEBRUARY 6th.

To Hambantota.

Routine.

FEBRUARY 7th - 9th.

Routine.

FEBRUARY 10th.

Routine.

8. *Tamil School.*

Inspected Tamil School. I do not think that two teachers can cope with the numbers and I am "crimping" the Moham-
medan teacher and his wife from a school in the Matara district.

FEBRUARY 11th.

Routine.

9. *To Ambalantota Crown fields.*

After Kachcheri drove Ambalantota deciding on the way to whom the crown fields at Walawe are to be leased this year. I started apportioning these fields last year with the result that the Crown's share was far larger than it had been previously

FEBRUARY 12th, SUNDAY.

To Tangalla.

FEBRUARY 13th.

10. *Tangalla.*

Verified cash in Treasury Office. Inspected hospital. Circuit work. Exemptions.

I am checking every enumerator's census schedules filled up at the preliminary census. The Tangalla schedule kept me going to 7.30 p.m. They were on the whole very well done.

FEBRUARY 14th.

11. *Nakulugamuwa.*

Drove Nakulugamuwa and stopped at the school which is as flourishing as ever. It is now being enlarged.

Checked Nakulugamuwa census work which was also good.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

After breakfast rode by Gansabhawa path to Dedduwawala on the Dickwella Beliyatta road inspecting Mahawewa and 2 tanks at Dedduwawala. Rode back to Tangalla by the Palapota Kadurupokuna road, inspecting a disputed boundary, Puwakgasara tank and Palapota school building which is now under construction.

FEBRUARY 15th.

Mr. Tomalin had arranged to meet me and come to a settlement regarding the encroachments on the main road. I first drove him out to the Pahalagoda well which he wanted to inspect as he is to report on the feasibility of a water supply from it to Tangalla. He is in favour of sinking trial wells across this stretch of paddy fields.

12. *Encroachments & water supply.*

We then spent about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours over the encroachments and determined how much of each should be removed. The owners in every case agreed to our terms. They are to be given one month in which to remove them.

Circuit work in afternoon.

I have now got in the figures for Tissa cultivation. 3,316 acres were cultivated which is 414 acres more than last maha when ploughing was first introduced. It is in fact with the exception of 1908-1909 maha, the largest extent ever cultivated at Tissa. (In 1908-1909 maha before the rinderpest broke out 3,418 acres were cultivated.) The Mudaliyar's figures work out at about 2,575 acres ploughed (of which 462 were ploughed with the English plough). This compares very favourably with the 1,500 acres ploughed last maha and 596 acres ploughed last yala. The record of cultivations at Tissa since maha 1906-1907 now stands as follows :—

13. *Ploughing at Tissa.*

		acres			acres
Maha	1906-1907	3,125	Yala	1907	2,267
"	1907-1908	3,091	"	1908	2,617
"	1908-1909	3,418	"	1909	2,361
"	1909-1910	2,902	"	1910	1,464
"	1910-1911	3,316			

LEONARD WOOLF

The figures for Walawe are :—

		acres			acres
Maha	1907-1908	3,764	Yala	1907	2,976
"	1908-1909	3,736	"	1908	3,641
"	1909-1910	2,777	"	1909	3,296
"	1910-1911	3,879	"	1910	2,747

FEBRUARY 16th.

14. *Kahawatta*

Rode Kahawatta via Nalagama. Exemptions: if possible more than the usual number of applicants. Census work until late.

FEBRUARY 17th.

At Kahawatta. In morning rode out along Dambulla road and inspected 4 or 5 village tanks. Cut across to the Angulmaduwa gansabhawa road and returned by it. Census work afternoon and evening.

FEBRUARY 18th.

Rode to Getamana and then across country to Nihiluwa where I checked census work of Police Officer. Thence by gansabhawa path to Kahawatta.

Census work afternoon.

FEBRUARY 19th.

To Walasmulla. Exemptions and circuit work.

FEBRUARY 20th.

Inspected Walasmulla school. Checked census work which was on the whole good.

FEBRUARY 21st.

15. *Kirama*.

To Kirama inspecting Horewela Buddhist school on the way. Exemptions and census work in afternoon. The census work of this division is excellent, the best seen by me. It reflects credit on the Chena Muhandiram whom I have put to supervise it. It is curious that these "backwoodsmen" of the pattu should turn out the best work.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

FEBRUARY 22nd.

Rode to Handugala inspecting Ruckgahadeniyawewa and Bogahadeniyawewa on the way. Then walked or rather climbed over the hills which form this village checking the census work (of which there were doubts) and enquiring into condition of its inhabitants (some of whom were sober) with a view to decide whether they require chenas. I do not now think they do. Then walked to Warapitiya school, inspected it, walked on to Kirama tank where I rejoined my pony and rode to Kirama—a very strenuous $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours work. Land sale to complete settlement of Warapitiya village in afternoon.

16. *Handugala and Chenas.*

FEBRUARY 23rd.

Rode Julampitiya in morning. Inspected school and did census work and enquiries. Rode back to Kirama in evening.

17. *Julampitiya.*

FEBRUARY 24th.

Rode Katuwana. Inspected school where the garden has been improved by a retaining wall. The new school at Walgamulla is nearly ready. Census work and exemptions in afternoon. Census work is good here.

18. *Katuwana.*

FEBRUARY 25th.

Rode Kariwilakanda and back. Inspected village to decide whether chenas should be allowed. A few people require them here I think.

19. *Kariwilakanda.*

Census work in afternoon.

FEBRUARY 26th.

Rode Talawa.

Exemptions and enquiries.

FEBRUARY 27th.

Rode Uswewa school and back in morning. Census work in afternoon. The Mudaliyar, East Giruwa Pattu had to return to Ambalantota with fever. On 19th the Mudaliyar West Giruwa Pattu had to return to Tangalla as he was very bad

20. *Uswewa.*

LEONARD WOOLF

with neuralgia. The Kachcheri Mudaliyar has not accompanied me owing to fever.

FEBRUARY 28th.

Rode Talawa by the Gonadeniya road. Exemptions and circuit work.

Sgd. L. S. Woolf.
A.G.A.

Miles travelled 200
Expended up to 28th February 1911 Rs. 1,793.80

MARCH 1911

MARCH 1st.

1. *Wiraketiya.*

At Wiraketiya and the hottest day I remember in this district. The Muhandiram had a thermometer which registered 99° in the shade. Circuit work and plenty of it with census.

MARCH 2nd.

Drove Ranna inspecting innumerable tanks on the way. Good progress has been made here.

MARCH 3rd.

2. *Ranna.*

Circuit work including exemptions, appointment of two headmen, two much contested elections of Vel Vidanes and census. I think I have exempted far more people than usual, *certainly there seem to me to have been far more unhealthy people than usual.*

MARCH 4th.

Rode Ambalantota. Census work.

3. *A petition inquiry.*

Sometime ago in enquiring into a petition I found that the Police Officer, Pallegama, had bought a land sold in default for water rate for Rs. 16/- worth about Rs. 1,000/-. The Police Officer is brother-in-law of the Vidana Arachchi who collects the water rate. There was no doubt that the petitioner had

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

paid for another land mistaking it for this. I think she also probably offered to pay for this. The headmen would not do anything so I recommended that they be dismissed if they did not sign a deed of surrender. Today they refused to do so when I told them that the Government Agent had approved my recommendation. Being deprived of their insignia, they stated that they would appeal to the Privy Council.

MARCH 5th, SUNDAY,
Rode Hambantota.

MARCH 6th - 9th.

23 days of books to check and all arrears of Court. Result 12 hours work a day.

MARCH 10th.
Census night.

MARCH 11th.
Checking Magam Pattu census returns.

MARCH 12th, SUNDAY.

The clerical staff led by the Head Clerk have been very good over census work. Eight of them worked with me and the Mudaliyar, Magam Pattu in the court from 7.30 a.m. to 7 p.m. checking the returns. The work is now practically done. *4. Census.*

MARCH 13th.

I arranged a system of bicycles with the Mudaliyar, West Giruwa pattu so as to get in his census returns promptly. It worked so well and his messenger was so eager that I was woken up at 4.30 a.m. to receive his returns. I got the East Giruwa Pattu returns last night.

The final figures :—

Magam pattu	...	11799
East Giruwa pattu	...	12948
West Giruwa pattu	...	85740
		<u>110487</u>

LEONARD WOOLF

This gives an increase of 5,617 for the district in the last decade or 5.3%. It is not as much as I expected.

I wired the figures to the Superintendent who replied that they were the first district returns received in Ceylon.

MARCH 14th.

5. *Salt Collection.*

A salt collection began at Maha lewaya on 11th and I visited it yesterday and today. A very large number of gatherers we have collected 13,000 cwts. in 3 days. [The salt is the finest I have seen collected in this lewaya. Salt is now forming at Bundala so that there is every prospect of last year's record being beaten.

6. *Vide para 3*

I forgot to say that on March 6th the two headmen mentioned in paragraph 3 of this diary appeared in the Kachcher and stated that they were willing to sign the deed.

MARCH 15th.

Routine.

MARCH 16th.

Rode Tissa via Bundala. Country very dry.

MARCH 17th.

7. *H. E. the Governor's visit.*

His Excellency the Governor arrived.

MARCH 18th.

Accompanied His Excellency to Hambantota.

MARCH 19th, SUNDAY.

His Excellency inspected salt collection at Maha lewaya where nearly 8,000 cwts. were collected in the day which is certainly a record for one lewaya. The hospital was then inspected.

MARCH 20th.

Accompanied His Excellency to Tangalla and back.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

MARCH 21st.

His Excellency inspected schools and Kachcheri and left at 12 for Rakwana.

MARCH 22nd and 23rd.

Routine.

MARCH 24th.

To Tangalla.

MARCH 25th.

The Government Agent arrived and renewed headmen's acts. *8. The Govt. Agent's circuit*

MARCH 26th, SUNDAY.

To Ambalantota in morning. Held enquiries. The Government Agent renewed acts. To Hambantota evening.

MARCH 27th.

Routine.

When His Excellency was here, he went into the question of the Walawe Left Bank Scheme. I have since been sounding the persons interested and I think that there is every chance of their agreeing to a rate of Rs. 4/- per acre. I propose to hold a meeting next month in order to see what opposition if any there would be to such a rate. *9. Walawe Left Bank Scheme.*

MARCH 28th.

To Tissa with the Government Agent. In evening to Kirinda and back.

MARCH 29th.

Rode down Lucasgoda road with the Mudaliyar and Muhandiram inspecting the work done there. I am not at all satisfied with the work done on the last portion. Mr. Wilson has kindly consented to inspect it and estimate value of work done. *10. Lucasgoda.*

LEONARD WOOLF

MARCH 30th.

To Katagomuwa.

MARCH 31st.

11. *Talgas-mankada.*

To Talgasmankada in morning In evening went out along northern boundary of sanctuary and inspected the remains of the game watcher who disappeared last June. I have been gazetted Police Magistrate, Badulla, to hold the enquiry. Got back after dark I shall hold the enquiry tomorrow.

Sgd L. S. Woolf.

A G A.

Miles travelled

233

Expended up to 31st March Rs 2,121.17

APRIL 1911

APRIL 1st.

At Talgasmankada

1. *Talgas-mankada The game-watcher*

Held enquiry into the death of the game-watcher Punchirala. There are many suspicious circumstances but I must bring in a verdict of death from cause unknown. His remains are found in a place outside his beat, one mile along the northern boundary of the sanctuary in a place where no watcher will go unaccompanied It leads nowhere. He left Katagomuwa early one morning in June he had no food with him. He must have intended to return to Katagomuwa by the afternoon or to get food at Talgasmankada. It is almost certain that he must have gone to Talgasmankada, yet his own son who was there denies that he came there. His axe was hung in a tree near the bones which were scattered about obviously gnawed by animals. Most remarkable of all, the handle of the axe, a stout piece of wood, was broken. The Doctor still has to make the post-mortem examination.

In evening to Yala.

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

APRIL 2nd.

Walked to Buttawa expecting to camp there for breakfast. Pleasantly surprised to find that by a misunderstanding my carts had gone to Palatupana. This meant another 8 miles in the heat of the day and I have never known anything like the heat of the jungle now. It is absolutely parched up and after an hour in it, it seems to dry up every drop of moisture in one's body. I always thought I could go from 6 to 10 without feeling it at all, but by 7.30 now one feels so weak that if there were game, which there is not—the deer have all gone to the thick jungle—one could scarcely lift one's rifle to shoot at it. Luckily my pony was behind me and I rode on fast, to Palatupana, and *en route* into the backside of an elephant who was strolling down the track near Velapalawewa. Before I knew what had happened the pony's head was facing the way we had come by. The elephant strolled on apparently oblivious and we followed him for a considerable distance. I at last sent on a bitch who was with me and she drove him out of the path like a big sheep.

2. Yala to Palatupana.

APRIL 3rd.

To Kirinda in morning, Bundala in evening.

April 4th.

Rode Hambantota. Routine.

APRIL 5th - 7th.

Routine.

APRIL 8th.

Routine.

Held two meetings in afternoon. The first was to arrange Coronation celebrations. A large gathering: over Rs. 300 were collected which is very good for Hambantota.

3. Coronation Celebrations.

The other meeting was about the water supply of Hambantota and was rather inconclusive. I wanted to find out whether the people would be prepared to pay annually for construction and maintenance. Without learning what sort of scheme it

4. Hambantota Water supply.

LEONARD WOOLF

would be, they do not like to give any pledge. But it is clear that while the well to-do would be willing to pay a rate, the majority who do not now pay for water would not be prepared to do so.

APRIL 9th, SUNDAY

APRIL 10th

5 *Tissa
Ploughing*

I hear that the Tissa people have already begun to plough for the Yala harvest. This is highly satisfactory as last year nothing was done until after the Sinhalese New Year.

6 *Cotton*

I have received a very interesting report from Professor Dunstan of the Imperial Institute on the samples of cotton grown by us at Tissa. The report on the Egyptian variety Metafifi which was grown on the high land is most satisfactory. The other Egyptian variety Abassi and the Sea Island which were grown under irrigation were of poor quality and the seed appear to have got mixed. I am now growing Abassi on the high ground and we have already plucked a considerable quantity. I shall send it to Professor Dunstan as the Imperial Institute reports are far the best which I have seen.

APRIL 11th

Routine. A long day in court.

APRIL 12th

Routine.

7 *Crime*

I find that the crime figures for 1910 furnished to me by the Police and commented on in a previous diary were incorrect. The correct figures are

	True cases	Convictions & Committals	Percentage of 2 to 1
Tangalla	62	15	23
Beliyatta	65	30	46
Walasmulla	69	36	52
Ranna	29	9	31
Hambantta	16	8	50
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>
	244	98	40
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

The figures are more satisfactory than those previously given to me although they certainly leave something to be desired.

APRIL 13th to 18th.

Holidays.

APRIL 19th.

At Mamadola.

APRIL 20th.

To Ranna via main channel, Alutgama and Hatagala. A curious incident happened at Mini Etilya tank : I was walking round the back of the tank under some trees, trying to get a shot at some teal. I had just passed a tree when I heard behind me a tremendous hissing. Turning round I saw under the tree a crocodile standing with her mouth wide open 6 feet from a friend who was with me. The crocodile was hissing like a hundred serpents and lashing its tail from side to side. My friend fired with No. 4 two shots straight into her and she turned to make off and I gave her two more as she passed me. I followed her into a swamp where I found her with a huge hole in her head. To make quite sure she was dead I prodded her with a stick and she turned round savagely on us. We despatched her and went back to the tree where we found many broken egg shells : apparently the young crocodiles had only just hatched out and her attack on us was due to her maternal feelings. 8. *The maternal instinct of crocodiles*

APRIL 21st.

To Tangalle. Inspected prison and verified cash in Treasury Office. Also inspected encroachments most of which are being removed on the main road near the bridge. 9. *Tangalle*

There is a big failure of the maha crop in this pattu. Practically the entire crop at Netolpitiya Tangalla fields and Nalagama has failed and in many other villages too. This is entirely due to the drought which has been extraordinarily prolonged. It is lucky that the Walawe and Tissa Maha crops are good. 10. *Failure of crops.*

LEONARD WOOLF

the Tissa scheme fetches ! The land is not worth a cent more than Rs 25 to 30 an acre It so happened that I remembered very well one of the owners who at the meeting said the land was worth Rs 75 an acre I was riding back from Ridiyagama to Koggalla this year after inspecting the village tank and the village which is practically abandoned This very man came with me and began talking about things in general He told me he had had to leave Ridiyagama and settle at Koggalla because the Ridiyagama tank practically never got water and the fields could only be cultivated once in 6 or 10 years And four months later he is quite ready to come up smiling (and supported by the headmen, probably!) to swear that the land is worth as much as land which yields two crops of paddy every year

Sgd L S Woolf.
A G A

Miles travelled	119
Expended up to 30th April	Rs 2,188 67

MAY 1911

MAY 1st

Held meeting to arrange details of Coronation celebrations

MAY 2nd - 5th

Routine

MAY 6th

Holiday

1. Salt
Manufacture
scheme.

I have been spending a considerable portion of the last week in writing a report on the Provincial Engineer's scheme for making a regular saltern in the Maha Lewaya His estimate comes to Rs 230,000/- It appears to me to be thoroughly unsound financially. The Maha Lewaya salt is considerably

THE HAMBANTOTA DIARIES

cheaper to produce now than the Bundala salt and therefore if we could increase the production of Maha Lewaya salt sufficiently to give up Bundala salt, we should save the additional cost of the Bundala salt—but obviously only if the Maha Lewaya salt production is not increased in cost. But in the Provincial Engineer's scheme the cost of production at the Maha Lewaya is, largely owing to an item of Rs.20,000 maintenance, increased until it is more than the present cost of production at Bundala. It follows that for a capital cost of Rs.230,000 we should increase the cost per cwt. of producing our salt. This appears to me to be unsound. I have also given other reasons for doubting the wisdom of adopting this scheme. When His Excellency the Governor was in Hambantota he visited the lewaya during one of the largest collections I have seen, and discussed the question of increasing the production in this Lewaya. I think he was in favour of trying a wind pump at Pitawatamodera to pump sea water into the lewaya. The Provincial Engineer also framed an estimate for a pumping scheme and I certainly think there is far more to be said for trying this as an experiment.

MAY 7th, SUNDAY.

MAY 8th.

Routine.

MAY 9th - 11th.

To Galle and back for conference with Excise Commissioners.

MAY 12th.

Holiday.

At 5 p.m. I was just going out when a messenger arrived to say that there was a riot going on in the town. The Buddhist procession had, he said, been stopped by the Mohamedans when passing the mosque and a large number of persons were now fighting with sticks and stones. I went at once to the mosque but the fight was over. Eight men were more or less injured including Mr. Amerasingha, Gansabhawa Clerk, who lives

2. Religious disturbance.

LEONARD WOOLF

near and had tried to stop the row when it began and been hit by a stone in the face. The story at first told to me was that the Mohamedans attacked the Buddhist procession first with sticks. I was therefore not a little surprised to see 6 or 7 Mohamedans wounded and covered with blood and only one Sinhalese. I got hold of 3 or 4 non-residents who had been present and began Police Court proceedings at once. They were all Sinhalese and their evidence very soon showed that the row had started by the Buddhist procession tom-toming before they passed the mosque. Some Mohamedans tried to stop this and the Buddhists fell upon the Mohamedans, the latter being severely handled. The Mohamedans in the Bazaar hearing of this rushed to the spot in large numbers tearing up the fences to provide weapons. The Buddhists seeing they would be overwhelmed sought sanctuary in the police officer's house where they were soon surrounded by a crowd of angry Mohamedans

This was, of course, not quite the story as told by the Sinhalese, but as they had had no time to prepare evidence, they very clearly gave it away. After recording sufficient evidence to make it clear, I adjourned

MAY 13th.

The leaders on both sides wished to settle the matter of yesterday amicably. No one had been seriously hurt. There has also never been any religious feeling in the town and there is no doubt that, if cases with proctors on each side had been engaged on, such feeling would be engendered. I therefore said that if the persons responsible on each side would plead guilty to charges which I would frame against them I would allow the cases of hurt to be withdrawn. This was done and I fined one side for disturbing a religious procession and the other for tom-toming without a licence, the Mohamedans Rs. 35/- and the Buddhists Rs. 60/-. The penalties were of course light, but as a matter of expediency much will have been gained by allowing the religious ill feeling to die out at once.

LEONARD WOOLF

MAY 16th & 17th.

Routine.

MAY 18th.

Routine.

4. *Schools in
Hambantota.*

Visited the Tamil school. There are signs of some knowledge being driven into the heads of the youth of Hambantota. I have my doubts of the ability of the Malay School Master and his wife whom I crimped from Hakmana.

Also visited Father Cooreman's Sinhalese School. The numbers have gone up very well since we began to enforce attendance.

MAY 20th.

Handed over to the Government Agent preparatory to proceeding on a year's leave.

Sgs. L. S. Woolf.
A G A.

THE END

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STORIES FROM THE EAST

by

LEONARD WOOLF

A Tale Told by Moonlight

Pearls and Swine

The Two Brahmans



Being a reprint of **Stories from the East**,
three short stories on Ceylon by Leonard
Woolf published by the Hogarth Press in
1924. Reprinted by courtesy of the author.

LEONARD WOOLF

were lying without seeing us. We heard the murmur of his words and in the shadow of the trees they stopped and we heard, the sound of their kisses.

I heard Pemberton mutter:

A boy and girl if the good fates please
Making love say,
The happier they.
Come up out of the light of the moon
And let them pass as they will, too soon
With the bean flowers boon
And the black birds tune
And May and June

It loosed our tongues and we began to speak—all of us except Jessop — as men seldom speak together, of love. We were sentimental, romantic. We told stories of our first loves. We looked back with regret, with yearning to our youth and to love. We were passionate in our belief in it, love, the great passion, the real thing which had just passed us by so closely in the moonlight.

We talked like that for an hour or so, I suppose, and Jessop never opened his lips. Whenever I looked at him, he was watching the river gliding by and he was frowning. At last there was a pause; we were all silent for a minute or two and then Jessop began to speak.

"You talk as if you believed all that: it's queer, damned queer. A boy kissing a girl in the moonlight and you call it love and poetry and romance. But you know as well as I do it isn't. It's just a flicker of the body it will be cold, dead, this time next year."

He had stopped but nobody spoke and then he continued slowly, almost sadly: "We're old men and middle-aged men, aren't we? We've all done that. We remember how we kissed like that in the moonlight or no light at all. It was pleasant; Lord, I'm not denying that — but some of us are married and some of us aren't. We're middle-aged — well, think of your wives, think of —" he stopped again. I looked round. The others were moving uneasily. It was this kind of thing that people didn't like in Jessop. He spoke again.

"It's you novelists who're responsible, you know. You've made a world in which every one is always falling in love — but it's not this world. Here it's the flicker of the body.

A TALE TOLD BY MOONLIGHT

“I don’t say there isn’t such a thing. There is. I’ve seen it, but it’s rare, as rare as-as-a perfect horse, an Arab once said to me. The real thing, it’s too queer to be anything but the rarest; it’s the queerest thing in the world. Think of it for a moment, chucking out of your mind all this business of kisses and moonlight and marriages. A miserable tailless ape buzzed round through space on this half cold cinder of an earth, a timid bewildered ignorant savage little beast always fighting for bare existence. And suddenly it runs up against another miserable naked tailless ape and immediately everything that it has ever known dies out of its little puddle of a mind, itself, its beastly body, its puny wandering desires, the wretched fight for existence, the whole world. And instead there comes, a flame of passion for something in that other naked ape, not for her body or her mind or her soul, but for something beautiful mysterious everlasting—yes that’s it the everlasting passion in her which has flamed up in him. He goes buzzing on through space, but he isn’t tired or bewildered or ignorant any more; he can see his way now even among the stars.

“And that’s love, the love which you novelists scatter about so freely. What does it mean? I don’t understand it; it’s queer beyond anything I’ve ever struck. It isn’t animal—that’s the point—or vegetable or mineral. Not one man in ten thousand feels it and not one woman in twenty thousand. How can they? It’s feeling, a passion immense, steady, enduring. But not one person in twenty thousand ever feels anything at all for more than a second, and then it’s only a feeble ripple on the smooth surface of their unconsciousness.

“O yes, we’ve all been in love. We can all remember the kisses we gave and the kisses given to us in the moonlight. But that’s the body. The body’s damnably exacting. It wants to kiss and to be kissed at certain times and seasons. It isn’t particular however; give it moonlight and young lips and it’s soon satisfied. It’s only when we don’t pay for it that we call it romance and love, and the most we would ever pay is a £5 note.

“But it’s not love, not the other, the real, the mysterious thing. That too exists, I’ve seen it, I tell you, but it’s rare Lord, it’s rare. I’m middle-aged. I’ve seen men, thousands of them, all over the world, known them too, made it my business to know them, it

LEONARD WOOLF

interests me, a hobby like collecting stamps. And I've only known two cases of real love

"And neither of them had anything to do with kisses and moonlight. Why should they? When it comes, it comes in strange ways and places, like most real things perversely and unreasonably. I suppose scientifically it's all right — it's what the mathematician calls the law of chances.

I'll tell you about one of them

There was a man—you may have read his books, so I won't give you his name—though he's dead now—I'll call him Reynolds. He was at Rugby with me and also at Corpus. He was a thin feeble looking chap, very nervous, with pale face and long pale hands. He was bullied a good deal at school, he was what they call a smug. I knew him rather well, there seemed to me to be something in him somewhere, some power of feeling under the nervousness and shyness. I can't say it ever came out, but he interested me

I went East and he stayed at home and wrote novels. I read them, very romantic they were too, the usual ideas of men and women and love. But they were clever in many ways, especially psychologically, as it was called. He was a success, he made money.

I used to get letters from him about once in three months, so when he came travelling to the east it was arranged that he would stay a week with me. I was in Colombo at that time right in the passenger route. I found him one day on the deck of a P and O just the same as I had last seen him in Oxford, except for the large sun helmet on his head and the blue glasses on his nose. And when I got him back to the bungalow and began to talk with him on the broad verandah, I found that he was still just the same inside too. The years had not touched him anywhere, he had not in the ordinary sense lived at all. He had stood aside—do you see what I mean? — from shyness, nervousness, the remembrance and fear of being bullied, and watched other people living. He knew a good deal about how other people think, the little tricks and mannerisms of life and novels, but he didn't know how they felt, I expect he had never felt anything himself, except fear and shyness. He hadn't really ever known a man, and he had certainly never known a woman.

A TALE TOLD BY MOONLIGHT

Well he wanted to see life, to understand it, to feel it. He had travelled 7000 miles to do so. He was very keen to begin, he wanted to see life all round, up and down, inside and out; he told me so as we looked out on the palm trees and the glimpse of the red road beyond and the unending stream of brown men and women upon it.

I began to show him life in the East. I took him to the clubs, the club where they play tennis and gossip, the club where they play bridge and gossip, the club where they just sit in the long chairs and gossip. I introduced him to scores of men who asked him to have a drink and to scores of women who asked him whether he liked Colombo. He didn't get on with them at all, he said 'No thank you' to the men and 'Yes, very much' to the women. He was shy and felt uncomfortable, out of his element with these fat flannelled merchants, fussy civil servants, and their whining wives and daughters.

In the evening we sat on my verandah and talked. We talked about life and his novels and romance and love even. I liked him, you know; he interested me, there was something in him which had never come out. But he had got hold of life at the wrong end somehow, he couldn't deal with it or the people in it at all. He had the novelist's view of life and — with all respect to you, Alderton — it doesn't work.

I suppose the devil came into me that evening. Reynolds had talked so much about seeing life that at last I thought: "By Jove, I'll show him a side of life he's never seen before at any rate". I called the servant and told him to fetch two rickshaws.

We bowled along the dusty roads past the lake and into the native quarter. All the smells of the East rose up and hung heavy upon the damp hot air in the narrow streets. I watched Reynolds' face in the moonlight, the scared look which always showed upon it; I very nearly repented and turned back. Even now I'm not sure whether I'm sorry that I didn't. At any rate I didn't, and at last we drew up in front of a low mean looking house standing back a little from the road.

There was one of those queer native wooden doors made in two halves; the top half was open and through it one saw an empty white-washed room lighted by a lamp fixed in the wall. We went in and I shut the door top and bottom behind us. At the other end were two steps leading up to another room. Suddenly there came

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the sound of bare feet running and giggles of laughter, and ten or twelve girls, some naked and some half clothed in bright red or bright orange clothes, rushed down the steps upon us. We were surrounded, embraced, caught up in their arms and carried into the next room. We lay upon sofas with them. There was nothing but sofas and an old piano in the room.

They knew me well in the place, — you can imagine what it was — I often went there. Apart from anything else, it interested me. The girls were all Tamils and Sinhalese. It always reminded me somehow of the Arabian Nights, that room when you came into it so bare and empty, and then the sudden rush of laughter, the pale yellow naked women, the brilliant colours of the cloths, the white teeth, all appearing so suddenly in the doorway up there at the end of the room. And the girls themselves interested me, I used to sit and talk to them for hours in their own language, they didn't as a rule understand English. They used to tell me all about themselves, queer pathetic stories often. They came from villages almost always, little native villages hidden far away among rice fields and coconut trees, and they had drifted somehow into this hovel in the warren of filth and smells which we and our civilization had attracted about us.

Poor Reynolds, he was very uncomfortable at first. He didn't know what to do in the least or where to look. He stammered out yes and no to the broken English sentences which the girls repeated like parrots to him. They soon got tired of kissing him and came over to me to tell me their little troubles and ask me for advice — all of them that is, except one.

She was called Celestinahami and was astonishingly beautiful. Her skin was the palest of pale gold with a glow in it, very rare in the fair native women. The delicate innocent beauty of a child was in her face and her eyes, Lord, her eyes immense, deep, dark and melancholy which looked as if they knew and understood and felt everything in the world. She never wore anything coloured, just a white cloth wrapped round her wust with one end thrown over the left shoulder. She carried about her an air of slowness and depth and mystery of silence and of innocence.

She lay full length on the sofa with her chin on her hands, looking up into Reynolds' face and smiling at him. The white cloth had slipped down and her breasts were bare. She was a Sinhalese, a cultivator's daughter, from a little village up in the

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hills: her place was in the green rice fields weeding, or in the little compound under the palm trees pounding rice, but she lay on the dirty sofa and asked Reynolds in her soft broken English whether he would have a drink.

It began in him with pity. 'I saw the pity of it, Jessop', he said to me afterwards, 'the pity of it'. He lost his shyness, he began to talk to her in his gentle cultivated voice; she didn't understand a word, but she looked up at him with her great innocent eyes and smiled at him. He even stroked her hand and her arm. She smiled at him still, and said her few soft clipped English sentences. He looked into her eyes that understood nothing but seemed to understand everything, and then it came out at last; the power to feel, the power that so few have, the flame, the passion, love, the real thing.

It was the real thing, I tell you; I ought to know: he stayed on in my bungalow day after day, and night after night he went down to that hovel among the filth and smells. It wasn't the body, it wasn't kisses and moonlight. He wanted her of course, he wanted her body and soul; but he wanted something else: the same passion, the same fine strong thing that he felt moving in himself. She was everything to him that was beautiful and great and pure, she was what she looked, what he read in the depths of her eyes. And she might have been—why not? She might have been all that and more, there's no reason why such a thing shouldn't happen, shouldn't have happened even. One can believe that still. But the chances are all against it. She was a prostitute in a Colombo brothel, a simple soft little golden-skinned animal with nothing in the depths of the eyes at all. It was the law of chances at work as usual, you know.

It was tragic and it was at the same time wonderfully ridiculous. At times he saw things as they were, the bare truth, the hopelessness of it. And then he was so ignorant of life, fumbling about so curiously with all the little things in it. It was too much for him; he tried to shoot himself with a revolver which he had bought at the Army and Navy Stores before he sailed; but he couldn't because he had forgotten how to put in the cartridges.

Yes, I burst in on him sitting at a table in his room fumbling with the thing, It was one of those rotten old-fashioned things with a piece of steel that snaps down over the chamber to prevent the cartridges falling out. He hadn't discover , nap it

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back in order to get the cartridges in. The man who sold him that revolver, instead of an automatic pistol, as he ought to have done, saved his life.

And then I talked to him seriously. I quoted his own novel to him. It was absurdly romantic, unreal, his novel, but it preached as so many of them do, that you should face facts first and then live your life out to the uttermost. I quoted it to him. Then I told him baldly brutally what the girl was—not a bit what he thought her, what his passion went out to—a nice simple soft little animal like the bitch at my feet that starved herself if I left her for a day. ‘It’s the truth’, I said to him, ‘as true as that you’re really in love, in love with something that doesn’t exist behind those great eyes. It’s dangerous, damned dangerous because it’s real—and that’s why it’s rare. But it’s no good shooting yourself with that thing. You’ve got to get on board the next P & O, that’s what you’ve got to do. And if you won’t do that, why practise what you preach and live your life out, and take the risks.’

He asked me what I meant.

“The risks?” I said. “I can see what they are, and if you do take them, you’re taking the worst odds ever offered a man. But there they are. Take the girl and see what you can make of life with her. You can buy her out of that place for fifteen rupees.”

I was wrong, I suppose. I ought to have put him in iron and shipped him off next day. But I don’t know, really I don’t know.

He took the risks any way. We bought her out, it cost twenty rupees. I got them a little house down the coast on the seashore, a little house surrounded by palm trees. The sea droned away sleepily right under the verandah. It was to be an idyll of the East. He was to live there for ever with her and write novels on the verandah.

And, by God, he was happy—at first. I used to go down there and stay with them pretty often. He taught her English and she taught him Sinhalese. He started to write a novel about the East—it would have been a good novel I think, full of strength and happiness and sun and reality—if it had been finished. But it never was. He began to see the truth—the damned hard unpleasant truths that I had told him that night in the Colombo bungalow. And the cruelty of it was that he still had that rare power to feel.

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that he still felt. It was the real thing, you see, and the real thing is — didn't I say — immense, steady, enduring. It is; I believe that still. He was in love, but he knew now what she was like. He couldn't speak to her and she couldn't speak to him, she couldn't understand him. He was a civilized cultivated intelligent nervous little man and she — she was an animal, dumb and stupid and beautiful.

I watched it happening, I had foretold it, but I cursed myself for not having stopped it, scores of times. He loved her but she tortured him. People would say, I suppose, that she got on his nerves. It's a good enough description. But the cruellest thing of all was that she had grown to love him, love him like an animal, as a bitch loves her master". Jessop stopped. We waited for him to go on but he didn't. The leaves rustled gently in the breeze; the river murmured softly below us; up in the woods I heard a nightingale singing. "Well, and then?" Alderton asked at last in a rather peevish voice.

"And then? Damn that nightingale!" said Jessop. "I wish I hadn't begun this story. It happened so long ago: I thought I had forgotten to feel it, to feel that I was responsible for what happened then. There's another sort of love; it isn't the body and it isn't the flame, it's the love of dogs and women, at any rate of those slow, big-eyed women of the East. It's the love of a slave, the patient, consuming love for a master, for his kicks and his caresses, for his kisses and his blows. That was the sort of love which grew up slowly in Celestinahami for Reynolds. But it wasn't what he wanted, it was that, I expect, more than anything which got on his nerves.

She used to follow him about the bungalow like a dog. He wanted to talk to her about his novel and she only understood how to pound and cook rice. It exasperated him, made him unkind, cruel. And when he looked into her patient, mysterious eyes he saw behind them what he had fallen in love with, what he knew didn't exist. It began to drive him mad.

And she — she of course couldn't even understand what was the matter. She saw that he was unhappy, she thought she had done something wrong. She reasoned like a child that it was because she wasn't like the white ladies whom she used to see in Colombo. So she went and bought stays and white cotton stockings and shoes, and she squeezed herself into them. But the stays and the shoes and stockings didn't do her any good.

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It couldn't go on like that. At last I induced Reynolds to go away. He was to continue his travels but he was coming back—he said so over and over again to me and to Celestinahami. Meanwhile she was well provided for; a deed was executed: the house and the coconut trees and the little compound by the sea were to be hers—a generous settlement, a *donatio inter vivos*, as the lawyers call it—void, eh?—or voidable?—because for an immoral consideration. Lord! I'm nearly forgetting my law, but I believe the law holds that only future consideration of that sort can be immoral. How wise, how just, isn't it? The past cannot be immoral; it's done with, wiped out—but the future? Yes, it's only the future that counts.

So Reynolds wiped out his past and Celestinahami by the help of a dirty Burgher lawyer and a deed of gift and a ticket issued by Thomas Cook and Son for a berth in a P & O bound for Aden. I went on board to see him off and I shook his hand and told him encouragingly that everything would be all right.

I never saw Reynolds again but I saw Celestinahami once. It was at the inquest two days after the *Moldavia* sailed for Aden. She was lying on a dirty wooden board on trestles in the dingy mud-plastered room behind the court. Yes, I identified her: Celestinahami—I never knew her other name. She lay there in her stays and pink skirt and white stockings and white shoes. They had found
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Jessop stopped. No one spoke for a minute or two. Then Hanson Smith stretched himself, yawned, and got up.

"Battle, murder, and sentimentality", he said. "You're as bad as the rest of them, Jessop. I'd like to hear your other case—but it's too late, I'm off to bed".

Pearls and Swine

I had finished my hundred up — or rather he had — with the Colonel and we strolled into the smoking room for a smoke and a drink round the fire before turning in. There were three other men already round the fire and they widened their circle to take us in. I didn't know them, hadn't spoken to them or indeed to anyone except the Colonel in the large gaudy uncomfortably comfortable hotel. I was run down, out of sorts generally, and — like a fool, I thought now — had taken a week off to eat, or rather to read the menus of interminable table d'hote dinners, to play golf and to walk on the "front" at Torquay.

I had only arrived the day before, but the Colonel (retired) a jolly tubby little man — with white moustaches like two S's lying side by side on the top of his stupid red lips and his kind choleric eyes bulging out on a life which he was quite content never for a moment to understand — made it a point, my dear Sir, to know every new arrival within one hour after he arrived.

We got our drinks and as, rather forgetting that I was in England, I murmured the Eastern formula, I noticed vaguely one of the other three glance at me over his shoulder for a moment. The Colonel stuck out his fat little legs in front of him, turning up his neatly shod toes before the blaze. Two of the others were talking, talking as men so often do in the comfortable chairs of smoking rooms between ten and eleven at night, earnestly, seriously, of what they call affairs, or politics or questions. I listened to their fat, full-fed assured voices in that heavy room which smelt of solidity, safety, horsehair furniture, tobacco smoke, and the faint civilized aroma of whisky and soda. It came as a shock to me in that atmosphere that they were discussing India and the East: it does you know every now and again. Sentimental? Well, I expect one is sentimental about it, having lived there. It doesn't seem to go with solidity and horsehair furniture: the fifteen years come back to one in one moment all in a heap. How one hated it and how one loved it!

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* * * *

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I suppose they had started on the Durbar and the Kings visit. They had got on to Indian unrest, to our position in India, its duties, responsibilities, to the problem of East and West. They hadn't been there of course, they hadn't even seen the brothel and cafe chantant at Port Said suddenly open out into that pink and blue desert that leads you through Africa and Asia into the heart of the East. But they knew all about it they had solved, with their fat voices and in their fat heads, riddles older than the Sphinx, of peoples remote and ancient and mysterious whom they had never seen and could never understand. One was, I imagine, a stock jobber, plump and comfortable with a greasy forehead and a high colour in his cheeks, smooth shiny brown hair and a carefully grown small moustache—a good dealer in the market—sharp and confident, with a loud voice and shifty eyes. The other was a clergyman need I say more? Except that he was more of a clergyman even than most clergymen, I mean that he wore tight things—leggings don't they call them? or breeches?—round his calves. I never know what it means whether they are bishops or rural deans or archdeacons or archmandrites. In any case I mistrust them even more than the black trousers they seem to close the last door for anything human to get in through the black clothes. The dog collar closes up the armour above, and below, as long as they were trousers, at any rate some whiff of humanity might have eddied up the legs of them and touched bare flesh. But the gaiters button them up finally irremediably, for ever.

I expect he was an archdeacon. He was saying 'You can't impose Western civilization upon an Eastern people—I believe I'm right in saying that there are over two hundred millions in our Indian Empire—without a little disturbance. I'm a Liberal you know I've been a Liberal my whole life—family tradition—though I grieve to say I could not follow Mr Gladstone on the Home Rule question. It seems to me a good sign, this movement, an awakening among the people. But don't misunderstand me, my dear Sir, I am not making any excuses for the methods of the extremists. Apart from my calling—I have a natural horror of violence. Nothing can condone violence, the taking of human life, it's savagery, terrible, terrible.'

"They don't put it down with a strong enough hand", the stock-jobber was saying almost fiercely. "There's too much Liberalism in the East, too much namby-pambyism. It is all right here, of course, but it's not suited to the East. They want a strong hand. After all they owe us something, we aren't going to take all the kicks and leave them all the halfpence. Rule 'em, I say, rule 'em."

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if you're going to rule 'em. Look after 'em; of course: give 'em schools, if they want education — schools, hospitals, roads, and railways. Stamp out the plague, fever, famine. But let 'em know you are top dog. That's the way to run an eastern country. I am a white man, you're black; I'll treat you well, give you courts and justice; but I'm the superior race, I'm master here".

The man who had looked round at me when I said "Here's luck!" was fidgeting about in his chair uneasily. I examined him more carefully. There was no mistaking the cause of his irritation. It was written on his face, the small close-cut white moustache, the smooth firm cheeks with the red-and-brown glow on them, the innumerable wrinkles round the eyes, and above all the eyes themselves, that had grown slow and steady and unastonished, watching that inexplicable, meaningless march of life under blazing suns. He had seen it, he knew. "Ah", I thought, "he is beginning to feel his liver. If he would only begin to speak, we might have some fun".

H'm, h'm, said the archdeacon. "Of course there's something in what you say. Slow and sure. Things may be going too fast, and, as I say, I'm entirely for putting down violence and illegality with a strong hand. And after all, my dear Sir, when you say we're the superior race you imply a duty. Even in secular matters we must spread the light. I believe — devoutly — I am not ashamed to say so — that we are. We're reaching the people there, it's the cause of the unrest, we set them an example. They desire to follow. Surely, surely we should help to guide their feet. I don't speak without a certain knowledge. I take a great interest, I may even say that I play my small part, in the work of one of our great missionary societies. I see our young men, many of them risen from the people, educated often, and highly educated (I venture to think), in Board Schools. I see them go out full of high ideals to live among those poor people. And I see them when they come back and tell me their tales honestly, unostentatiously. It is always the same, a message of hope and comfort. We are getting at the people, by example, by our lives, by our conduct. They respect us."

I heard a sort of groan, and then quite loud, these strange words:

"Kasimutal Rameswaramvaraiyil terintavan".

"I beg your pardon", said the Archdeacon, turning interrupter.

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"I beg yours. Tamil, Tamil, proverb. Came into my mind. 'Spoke without thinking. Beg yours'".

"Not at all. Very interesting. You've lived in India? Would you mind my asking you for a translation?"

"It means 'he knows everything between Benares and Rameswaram'. Last time I heard it, an old Tamil, seventy or eighty years old, perhaps — he looked a hundred — used it of one of your young men. The young man, by the bye, had been a year and a half in India. D'you understand?"

"Well, I'm not sure I do: I've heard, of course, of Benares, but Rameswaram, I don't seem to remember the name".

I laughed; I could not help it; the little Anglo-Indian looked so fierce. "Ah!" he said, "you don't recollect the name. Well, it's pretty famous out there. Great temple — Hindu — right at the southern tip of India. Benares, you know, is up north. The old Tamil meant that your friend knew everything in India after a year and a half: *he* didn't you know, after seventy, after seven thousand years. Perhaps you also don't recollect that the Tamils are Dravidians? They've been there since the beginning of time, before we came, or the Dutch or Portuguese or the Muhammadans, or our cousins, the other Aryans. Uncivilized, black? Perhaps, but, if they're black, after all it's *their* suns, through thousands of years, that have blackened them. They ought to know, if anyone does: but they don't, they don't pretend to. But you two gentlemen, you seem to know everything between Kasimutal—that's Benares—and Rameswaram, without having seen the sun at all".

"My dear sir", began the Archdeacon pompously, but the jobber interrupted him. He had had a number of whiskies and sodas, and was quite heated. "It's very easy to sneer: it doesn't mean because you've lived a few years in a place .."

"I? Thurdy. But they — seven thousand at least".

"I say, it doesn't mean because you've lived thirty years in a place that you know all about it. Ramisram, or whatever the damned place is called, I've never heard of it and don't want to. You do, that's part of your job, I expect. But I read the papers, I've read books too, mind you, about India. I know what's going on. One knows enough — enough — data: East and West and

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the difference: I can form an opinion — I've a right to it even if I've never heard of Ramis what d'you call it. You've lived there and you can't see the wood for the trees. We see it because we're out of it — see it at a distance”.

“Perhaps”, said the Archdeacon “there's a little misunderstanding. The discussion — if I may say so — is getting a little heated — unnecessarily, I think. We hold our views. This gentleman has lived in the country. He holds others. I'm sure it would be most interesting to hear them. But I confess I didn't quite gather them from what he said”.

The little man was silent: he sat back, his eyes fixed on the ceiling. Then he smiled.

“I won't give you views”, he said. “But if you like I'll give you what you call details, things seen, facts. Then you can give me *your* views on 'em”.

They murmured approval.

“Let's see, it's fifteen, seventeen years ago. I had a district then about as big as England. There may have been twenty Europeans in it, counting the missionaries, and twenty million Tamils and Telegus. I expect nineteen million of the Tamils and Telegus never saw a white man from one year's end to the other, or if they did, they caught a glimpse of me under a sun helmet riding through their village on a flea-bitten grey Indian mare. Well, Providence had so designed it that there was a stretch of coast in that district which was a barren wilderness of sand and scrubby thorn jungle — and nothing else — for three hundred miles; no towns, no villages, no water, just sand and trees for three hundred miles. O, and sun, I forget that, blazing sun. And in the water off the shore at one place there were oysters, millions of them, lying and breeding at the bottom, four or five fathoms down. And in the oysters, or some of them, were pearls.

Well, we rule India and the sea, so the sea belongs to us, and the oysters are in the sea and the pearls are in the oysters. Therefore of course the pearls belong to us. But they lie in five fathoms. How to get 'em up, that's the question. You'd think being progressive we'd dredge for them or send down divers in diving dresses. But we don't, not in India. They've been fishing up the oysters and the pearls there ever since the beginning of time, naked brown men diving feet first out of long wooden boats.

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into the blue sea and sweeping the oysters off the bottom of the sea into baskets slung to their sides. They were doing it centuries and centuries before we came, when — as someone said — our ancestors were herding swine on the plains of Norway. The Arabs of the Persian Gulf came down in dhows and fished up pearls which found their way to Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. They still come, and the Tamils and Moormen of the district come, and they fish 'em up in the same way, diving out of long wooden boats shaped and rigged as in Solomon's time, as they were centuries before him and the Queen of Sheba. No difference, you see, except that we — Government I mean — take two-thirds of all the oysters fished up — the other third we give to the diver, Arab or Tamil or Moorman, for his trouble in fishing 'em up.

We used to have a Pearl Fishery about once in three years, it lasted six weeks or two months just between the two monsoons, the only time the sea is calm there. And I had, of course, to go and superintend it, to take Government's share of oysters, to sell them, to keep order, to keep out K D's — that means Known Depredators — and smallpox and cholera. We had what we called a camp, in the wilderness remember, on the hot sand down there by the sea. It sprang up in a night, a town, a big town of thirty or forty thousand people, a little India, Asia almost, even a bit of Africa. They came from all districts. Tamils, Telegus, fat Chetties, Parsees, Bombay merchants, Sinhalese from Ceylon, the Arabs and their negroes, Somalis probably, who used to be their slaves. It was an immense gamble, everyone bought oysters for the chance of the prizes in them. It would have taken fifty white men to superintend that camp properly. They gave me one, a little boy of twenty-four fresh-checked from England, just joined the service. He had views, he had been educated in a Board School, won prizes, scholarships, passed the Civil Service 'Exam'. Yes, he had views; he used to explain them to me when he first arrived. He got some new ones I think before he got out of that camp. You'd say he only saw details, things happen, facts, data. Well, he did that too. He saw men die — he hadn't seen that in his Board School — die of plague or cholera, like flies, all over the place, under the trees, in the boats, outside the little door of his own little hut. And he saw flies, too, millions, billions of them all day long buzzing, crawling over everything, his hands, his little fresh face, his food. And he smelt the smell of millions of decaying oysters all day long and all night long for six weeks. He was sick four or five times a day for six weeks, the smell did that. Insanitary? Yes, very. Why is it allowed? The pearls, you see, the pearls: you must get them out of the oysters as you must get the oysters

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out of the sea. And the pearls are very often small and embedded in the oyster's body. So you put all the oysters, millions of them, in dug-out canoes in the sun to rot. They rot very well in that sun, and the flies come and lay eggs in them, and maggots come out of the eggs and more flies come out of the maggots; and between them all, the maggots and the sun, the oysters' bodies disappear, leaving the pearls and a little sand at the bottom of the canoe. Unscientific? Yes, perhaps; but after all it's our camp, our fishery,—just as it was in Solomon's time? At any rate, you see, it's the East. But whatever it is, and whatever the reason, the result involves flies, millions of them and a smell, a stench—Lord! I can smell it now.

There was one other white man there. He was a planter, so he said, and he had come to "deal" in pearls. He dropped in on us out of a native boat at sunset on the second day. He had a red face and a red nose, he was unhealthily fat for the East: the whites of his eyes were rather blue and rather red: they were also watery. I noticed that his hand shook, and that he first refused and then took a whisky and soda—a bad sign in the East. He wore very dirty white clothes and a vest instead of a shirt: he apparently had no baggage of any sort. But he was a white man, and so he ate with us that night and a good many nights afterwards.

In the second week he had his first attack of D.T. We pulled him through, Robson and I, in the intervals of watching over the oysters. When he hadn't got D.T., he talked: he was a great talker, he also had views. I used to sit in the evenings—they were rare—when the fleet of boats had got in early and the oysters had been divided, in front of my hut and listen to him and Robson settling India and Asia, Africa too probably. We sat there in our long chairs on the sand looking out over the purple sea, towards a sunset like blood shot with gold. Nothing moved or stirred except the flies which were going to sleep in a mustard tree close by; they hung in buzzing clusters, billions of them on the smooth leaves and little twigs: literally it was black with them. It looked as if the whole tree had suddenly broken out all over into some disease of living black currants. Even the sea seemed to move with an effort in the hot, still air; only now and again a little wave would lift itself up very slowly, very wearily, poise itself for a moment, and then fall with a weary little thud on the sand.

I used to watch them, I say, in the hot still air and the smell of dead oysters—it pushed up against your face like something solid talking, talking in their long chairs, while the sweat stood out in little drops on their foreheads and trickled from time to

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time down their noses. There wasn't, I suppose, anything wrong with Robson, he was all right at bottom, but he annoyed me, irritated me in that smell. He was too cocksure altogether, of himself, of his Board School education, of life, of his 'views'. He was going to run India on new lines, laid down in some damned Manual of Political Science out of which they learn life in Board Schools and extension lectures. He would run his own life, I dare say, on the same lines, laid down in some other text book or primer. He hadn't seen anything, but he knew exactly what it was all like. There was nothing curious, astonishing, unexpected, in life, he was ready for any emergency. And we were all wrong, all on the wrong tack in dealing with natives! He annoyed me a little, you know, when the thermometer stood at 99, at 6 p.m., but what annoyed me still more was that they—the natives!—were all wrong too. They too had to be taught how to live—and die, too, I gathered.

But his views were interesting—very interesting—especially in the long chairs there under the immense Indian sky, with the camp at our hands—just as it had been in the time of Moses and Abraham—and behind us the jungle for miles, and behind that India, three hundred millions of them listening to the piping voice of a Board School boy, are the inferior race—these three hundred millions—mark race, though there are more races in India than people in Peckham—and we, of course, are superior. They've stopped somehow on the bottom rung of the ladder of which we've very nearly, if not quite, reached the top. They've stopped there hundreds, thousands of years—but it won't take any time to lead 'em up by the hand to our rung. It's to be done like this, by showing them that they're our brothers, inferior brothers, by reason, arguing them out of their superstitions, false beliefs, by education by science, by example, yes, even he did not forget example, and White, sitting by his side with his red nose and watery eyes, nodded approval. And all this must be done scientifically, logically, systematically if it were a Commissioner could revolutionize a province in five years turn it into a Japanese India, with all the ryots as well as all the vakils and students running up the ladder of European civilization to become, I suppose, glorified Board School angels at the top. 'But you've none of you got clear plans out here', he piped, 'you never work on any system, you've got no point of view. The result is'—here, I think, he was inspired by the dead oysters, perhaps—'instead of getting hold of the East, it's the East which gets hold of you.'

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And White agreed with him, solemnly, at any rate when he was sane and sober. And I couldn't complain of his inexperience. He was rather reticent at first, but afterwards we heard much—too much—of his experiences—one does, when a man gets D.T. He said he was a gentleman, and I believe it was true; he had been to a public school; Cheltenham or Repton. He hadn't, I gathered, succeeded as a gentleman at home, so they sent him to travel in the East. He liked it, it suited him. So he became a planter in Assam. That was fifteen years ago, but he didn't like Assam: the luck was against him—it always was—and he began to roll; and when a man starts rolling in India, well—He had been a clerk in merchants' offices; he had served in a draper's shop in Calcutta; but the luck was always against him. Then he tramped up and down India, through Ceylon, Burma; he had got at one time or another to the Malay States, and when he was very bad one day, he talked of cultivating camphor in Java. He had been a sailor on a coasting tramp; he had sold horses (which didn't belong to him) in the Deccan somewhere; he had tramped day after day begging his way for months in native bazaars; he had lived for six months with, and on, a Tamil woman in some little village down in the south. Now he was 'dealing in' pearls. "India's got hold of me", he'd say, "India's got hold of me and the East".

He had views too, very much like Robson's, with additions. 'The strong hand' came in, and 'rule'. We ought to govern India more; we didn't now. Why, he had been in hundreds of places where he was the first Englishman that the people had ever seen. (Lord! think of that!). He talked a great deal about the hidden wealth of India and exploitation. He knew places where there was gold—workable too—only one wanted a little capital—coal probably and iron—and then there was this new stuff, radium. But we weren't go-ahead, progressive, the Government always put difficulties in his way. They made 'the native' their stalking-horse against European enterprise. He would work for the good of the native, he'd treat him firmly but kindly—especially, I thought, the native women, for this teeth were sharp and pointed and there were spaces between each, and there was something about his chin and jaw—you know the type, I expect.

As the fishing went on we had less time to talk. We had to work. The divers go out in the fleet of three hundred or four hundred boats every night and dive until midday. Then they sail back from the pearl banks and bring all their oysters into an immense Government enclosure where the Government share is taken. If the wind is favourable all the boats got back by 6 p.m.

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and the work is over at 7. But if the wind starts blowing off shore, the fleet gets scattered and boats drop in one by one all night long. Robson and I had to be in the enclosure as long as there was a boat out, ready to see that, as soon as it did get in, the oysters were brought to the enclosure and Government got its share.

Well, the wind never did blow favourably that year. I sat in that enclosure sometimes for forty-eight hours on end. Robson found managing it rather difficult, so he didn't like to be left there alone. If you get two thousand Arabs, Tamils, Negroes, and Moormen, each with a bag or two of oysters, into an enclosure a hundred and fifty yards by a hundred and fifty yards, and you only have thirty timid native 'subordinates' and twelve native policemen to control them — well, somehow or other he found a difficulty in applying his system of reasoning to them. The first time he tried it, we very nearly had a riot, it arose from a dispute between some Arabs and Tamils over the ownership of three oysters which fell out of a bag. The Arabs didn't understand Tamil and the Tamils didn't understand Arabic, and, when I got down there, fetched by a frightened constable, there were sixty or seventy men fighting with great poles — they had pulled up the fence of the enclosure for weapons — and on the outskirts was Robson running round like a distracted hen with a white face and tears in his blue eyes. When we got the combatants separated, they had only killed one Tamil and broken nine or ten heads. Robson was very upset by that dead Tamil, he broke down utterly for a minute or two, I'm afraid.

Then White got his second attack. He was very bad; he wanted to kill himself, but was worse than that, before killing himself, he wanted to kill other people. I hadn't been to bed for two nights and I knew I should have to sit up another night in that enclosure as the wind was all wrong again. I had given White a bed in my hut: it wasn't good to let him wander in the bazaar. Robson came down with a white face to tell me he had 'gone mad up there again.' I had to knock him down with the butt end of a rifle. he was a big man and I hadn't slept for forty eight hours, and then there were the flies and the smell of those dead oysters.

It sounds unreal, perhaps a nightmare, all this told here to you behind blinds and windows in this —" he sniffed — "in this smell of — of — horsehair furniture and paint and varnish. The curious thing is it didn't seem a nightmare out there. It was too real. Things happened, anything might happen, without shocking

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or astonishing. One just did one's work, hour after hour, keeping things going in that sun which stung one's bare hands, took the skin off even my face, among the flies and the smell. It wasn't a nightmare, it was just a few thousand Arabs and Indians fishing up oysters from the bottom of the sea. It wasn't even new, one felt; it was old, old as the Bible, old as Adam, so the Arabs said. One hadn't much time to think, but one felt it and watched it, watched the things happen quietly, unastonished, as men do in the East. One does one's work, — forty eight hours at a stretch doesn't leave one much time or inclination for thinking, — waiting for things to happen. If you can prevent people from killing one another or robbing one another, or burning down the camp, or getting cholera or plague or small-pox, and if one can manage to get one night's sleep in three, one is fairly satisfied; one doesn't much worry about having to knock a mad gentleman from Repton on the head with the butt end of a rifle between-whiles.

I expect that's just what Robson would call 'not getting hold of India but letting India get hold of you'. Well, I said I wouldn't give you views and I won't: I'm giving you facts: what I want, you know, too is to give you the feeling of facts out there. After all that is data for your views, isn't it? Things here feel so different; you seem so far from life, with windows and blinds and curtains always in between, and then nothing ever happens, you never wait for things to happen, never watch things happening here. You are always doing things somehow — Lord knows what they are—according I suppose to systems, views, opinions. But out there you live so near to life, every morning you smell damp earth if you splash too much in your tin bath. And things happen slowly, inexorably by fate, and you—you don't do things, you watch with the three hundred millions. You feel it there in everything, even in the sunrise and sunset, every day, the immensity, inexorableness, mystery of things happening. You feel the whole earth waking up or going to sleep in a great arch of sky; you feel small, not very powerful. But who ever felt the sun set or rise in London or Torquay either? It doesn't : you just turn on or turn off the electric light.

White was very bad that night. When he recovered from being knocked down by the rifle, I had to tie him down to the bed. And then Robson broke down — nerves, you know. I had to go back to the enclosure and I wanted him to stay and look after White in the hut — it wasn't safe to leave him alone even tied down with cord to the camp bed. But this was apparently another emergency to which the manual system did not apply. He couldn't

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face it alone in the hut with that man tied to the bed. White was certainly not a pretty sight writhing about there, and his face—have you ever seen a man in the last stages of D.T.? I beg your pardon. I suppose you haven't. It isn't nice, and White was also seeing things, not nice either: not snakes you know as people do in novels when they get D.T., but things which had happened to him, and things which he had done—they weren't nice either—and curious ordinary things distorted in a most unpleasant way. He was very much troubled by snipe: hundreds of them kept on rising out of the bed from beside him with that shrill 'cheep! cheep!' of theirs: he felt their soft little feathered bodies against his bare skin as they fluttered up from under him somewhere and flew out of the window. It threw him into paroxysms of fear, agonies: It made one, I admit, feel chilly round the heart to hear him pray one to stop it.

And Robson was also not a nice sight. I hate seeing a sane man break down with fear, mere abject fear. He just sat down at last on a cane-bottomed chair and cried like a baby. Well, that did him some good, but he wasn't fit to be left alone with White. I had to take White down to the enclosure, and I tied him to a post with coir rope near the table at which I sat there. There was nothing else to do. And Robson came too and sat there at my side through the night watching White, terrified but fascinated.

Can you picture that enclosure to yourself down on the sandy shore with its great fence of rough poles cut in the jungle, lighted by a few flares, torches dipped in coconut oil: and the white man tied to a pole raving, writhing in the flickering light which just showed too Robson's white scared little face? And in the intervals of taking over oysters and settling disputes between Arabs and Somalis and Tamils and Moormen, I sat at the table writing a report (which had to go by runner next morning) on a proposal to introduce the teaching of French in 'English schools' in towas. That wasn't a very good report. White gave us the whole history of his life between ten p.m. and four a.m. in the morning. He didn't leave much to the imagination; a parson would have said that in that hour the memory of his sins came upon him—O, I beg your pardon. But really I think they did. I thought I had lived long enough out there to have heard without a shock anything that men can do and do—especially white men who have 'gone under.' But I hadn't: I couldn't stomach the story of White's life told by himself. It wasn't only that he had robbed and swindled himself through India up and down for fifteen years. That was bad enough for there wasn't a station where he hadn't swindled and bamboozled

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his fellow white men. But it was what he had done when he got away 'among the natives' — to men, and women too, away from 'civilization', in the jungle villages and high up in the mountains. God! the cold, civilized, corrupted cruelty of it. I told you, I think, that his teeth were pointed and spaced out in his month.

And his remorse was the most horrible thing, tied to that post there, writhing under the flickering light of the flare: the remorse of fear—fear of punishment, of what was coming of death, of the horrors, real horrors and the phantom horrors of madness.

Often during the night there was nothing to be heard in the enclosure but his screams, curses, hoarse whispers of fear. We seemed alone there in the vast stillness of the sky: only now and then a little splash from the sea down on the shore. And then would come a confused murmur from the sea and a little later perhaps the wailing voice of one man calling to another from boat to boat across the water "Abdulla! Abdulla!" And I would go out on to the shore. There were boats, ten fifteen, twenty, perhaps, coming in from the banks, sad, mysterious, in the moonlight, gliding in with the little splashings of the great round oars. Except for the slow moving of the oars one would have thought they were full of the dead, there was not a movement on board, until the boats touched the sand. Then the dark shadows, which lay like dead men about the boats, would leap into life — there would rise a sudden din of hoarse voices, shouting, calling, quarrelling. The boats swarmed with shadows running about, gesticulating, staggering under sacks of oysters, dropping one after the other over the boats' sides into the sea. The sea was full of them and soon the shore too, Arabs, Negroes, Tamils, bowed under the weight of the sacks. They came up dripping from the sea. They burst with a roar into the enclosure: they flung down their sacks of oysters with a crash. The place was full of swaying struggling forms: of men calling to one another in their different tongues: of the smell of the sea.

And above everything one could hear the screams and prayers of the madman writhing at the post. They gathered about him, stared at him. The light of the flares fell on their dark faces, shining and dripping from the sea. They looked calm, impassive, stern. It shone too on the circle of eyes: one saw the whites of them all round him: they seemed to be judging him, weighing him: calm patient eyes of men who watched unastonished the procession of things. The Tamils' squat black figures nearly naked watched him silently, almost carelessly. The Arabs in their long dirty,

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night shirts, black bearded, discussed him earnestly together with their guttural voices. Only an enormous negro, towering up to six feet six at least above the crowd, dressed in sacks and an enormous ulster, with ten copper coffee pots slung over his back and a pipe made of a whole coconut with an iron tube stuck in it in his hand, stood smiling mysteriously.

And White thought they weren't real, that they were devils of Hell sent to plague and torture him. He cursed them, whispered at them, howled with fear. I had to explain to them that the Sahib was not well, that the sun had touched him, that they must move away. They understood. They salaamed quietly, and moved away slowly, dignified.

I don't know how many times this didn't happen during the night. But towards morning White began to grow very weak. He moaned perpetually. Then he began to be troubled by the flesh. As dawn showed grey in the east, he was suddenly shaken by convulsions horrible to see. He screamed for someone to bring him a woman, and, as he screamed, his head fell back, he was dead. I cut the cords quickly in a terror of haste, and covered the horror of the face. Robson was sitting in a heap in his chair. He was sobbing, his face in his hands.

At that moment I was told I was wanted on the shore. I went quickly. The sea looked cold and grey under the faint light from the East. A cold little wind just ruffled the surface of the water. A solitary boat stood out black against the sky, just throbbing slowly up and down on the water close in shore. They had a dead Arab on board, he had died suddenly while diving, they wanted my permission to bring the body ashore. Four men waded out to the boat, the corpse was lifted out and placed upon their shoulders. They waded back slowly, the feet of the dead man stuck out, toes pointing up, very stark over the shoulders of the men in front. The body was laid on the sand. The bearded face of the dead man looked very calm, very dignified in the faint light. An Arab, his brother, sat down upon the sand near his head. He covered himself with sackcloth. I heard him weeping. It was very silent, very cold and still on the shore in the early dawn.

A tall figure stepped forward, it was the Arab sheik, the leader of the boat. He laid his hand on the head of the weeping man and spoke to him calmly, eloquently, compassionately. I didn't understand Arabic, but I could understand what he was saying. The dead man had lived, had worked, had died. He had done

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working, without suffering, as men should desire to die. He had left a son behind him. The speech went on calmly, eloquently, I heard continually the word Khallas—all is over, finished. I watched the figures outlined against the grey sky—the long lean outline of the corpse with the toes sticking up so straight and stark, the crouching huddled figure of the weeping man and the tall upright sheik standing by his side. They were motionless, sombre, mysterious, part of the grey sea, of the grey sky.

Suddenly the dawn broke red in the sky. The sheik stopped, motioned silently to the four men. They lifted the dead man on to their shoulders. They moved away down the shore by the side of the sea which began to stir under the cold wind. By their side walked the sheik, his hand laid gently on the brother's arm. I watched them move away, silent, dignified. And over the shoulders of the men I saw the feet of the dead man with the toes sticking up straight and stark.

Then I moved away too, to make arrangements for White's burial: it had to be done at once.

* * * *

There was silence in the smoking-room. I looked round. The Colonel had fallen asleep with his mouth open. The jobber tried to look bored, the Archdeacon was, apparently, rather put out.

"It's too late, I think", said the Archdeacon, "to—Dear me, dear me, past one o'clock". He got up. "Don't you think you've chosen rather exceptional circumstances, out of the ordinary case?"

The Commissioner was looking into the few rep coals that were all that was left of the fire.

"There's another Tamil proverb", he said: "When tee cat puts his head into a pot, he thinks all is darkness."

The Two Brahmans

Yalpanam is a very large town in the north of Ceylon, but nobody who suddenly found himself in it would believe this. Only in two or three streets is there any bustle or stir of people. It is like a gigantic village that for centuries has slept and grown, and sleeps and grows, under a forest of coconut trees and fierce sun. All the streets are the same, dazzling dusty roads between high fences made of the dried leaves of the coconut palms. Behind the fences, and completely hidden by them, are the compounds; and in the compounds still more hidden under the palms and orange and lime trees are the huts and houses of the Tamils who live there.

The north of the town lies, as it has lain for centuries, sleeping by the side of the blue lagoon, and there is a hut standing now in a compound by the side of the lagoon, where it had stood for centuries. In this hut there lived a man called Chellaya who was by caste a Brahman, and in the compound next to Chellaya's lived another Brahman called Chittampalam, and in all the other 50 or 60 compounds around them lived other Brahmans. They belonged to the highest of all castes in Yalpanam, and they could not eat food with or touch or marry into any other caste, nor could they carry earth on their heads or work at any trade, without being defiled or losing caste. Therefore all the Brahmans live together in this quarter of the town, so that they may not be defiled but may marry off their sons and daughters to daughters and sons of other Brahmans. Chellaya and Chittampalam and all the Brahmans knew that they and their fathers and their fathers' fathers had lived in the same way by the side of the blue lagoon under the palm trees for many thousands of years. They did no work, for there was no need to work. The dhobi or washer caste man, who washed the clothes of Brahmans and of no other caste, washed their white cloths and in return was given rice and allowed to be present at weddings and funerals. And there was the barber caste man who shaved the Brahmans and no other caste. And half a mile from their compounds were their Brahman rice fields in which Chellaya

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and each of the other Brahmans had shares; some shares had descended to them from their fathers and their grandfathers and great-grandfathers and so on from the first Brahmans, and other shares had been brought to them as dowry with their wives. These fields were sown twice a year, and the work of cultivation was done by Mukkuwa caste men. This is a custom, that Mukkuwa caste men cultivate the rice fields of Brahmans, and it had been a custom for many thousands of years.

Chellaya was forty-five and Chittampalam was forty-two, and they had lived, as all Brahmans lived, in the houses in which they had been born. There can be no doubt that quite suddenly one of the gods, or rather devils, laid a spell upon these two compounds. And this is how it happened.

Chellaya had married, when he was 14, a plump Brahman girl of 12 who had borne him three sons and two daughters. He had married off both his daughters without giving very large dowries and his sons had all married girls who had brought them large dowries. No man ought to have been happier, though his wife was too talkative and had a sharp tongue. And for 45 years Chellaya lived happily the life which all good Brahmans should live. Every morning he ate his rice cakes and took his bath at the well in his compound and went to the temple of Siva. There he talked until midday to his wife's brother and his daughter's husband's father about Nallatampi, their neighbour, who was on bad terms with them, about the price of rice, and about a piece of land which he had been thinking of buying for the last five years. After the midday meal of rice and curry, cooked by his wife, he dozed through the afternoon; and then, when the sun began to lose its power, he went down to the shore of the blue lagoon and sat there until nightfall.

This was Chellaya's passion, to sit by the side of the still, shining, blue waters and look over them at the far-off islands which flickered and quivered in the mirage of heat. The wind, dying down at evening, just murmured in the palms behind him. The heat lay like something tangible and soothing upon the earth. And Chellaya waited eagerly for the hour when the fishermen come out with their cast-nets and wade out into the shallow water after the fish. How eagerly he waited all day for that moment; even in the temple when talking about Nallatampi, whom he hated, the vision of those unruffled waters would continually rise up before him, and of the lean men lifting their feet so gently first one and then the other, in order not to make a splash or a

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ripple, and bending forward with the nets in their hands ready to cast. And then the joy of the capture, the great leaping twisting silver fish in the net at last. He began to hate his compound and his fat wife and the interminable talk in the temple, and those long dreary evenings when he stood under his umbrella at the side of his rice field and watched the Mukkuwas ploughing or sowing or reaping.

As Chellaya grew older he became more and more convinced that the only pleasure in life was to be a fisher and to catch fish. This troubled him not a little, for the Fisher caste is a low caste and no Brahman had ever caught a fish. It would be utter pollution and losing of caste to him. One day however when he went down to sit in his accustomed place by the side of the lagoon, he found a fisherman sitting on the sand there mending his net.

"Fisher", said Chellaya, "could one who has never had a net in his hand and was no longer young learn how to cast it?"

Chellaya was a small round fat man, but he had spoken with great dignity. The fisher knew at once that he was a Brahman and salaamed, touching the ground with his forehead.

"Lord", he said, "the boy learns to cast the net when he is still at his mother's breast."

"O foolish dog of a fisher", said Chellaya pretending to be very angry, "can you not understand? Suppose one who was not a fisher and was well on in years wished to fish — for a vow or even for play — could such a one learn to cast the net?"

The old fisherman screwed up his wrinkled face and looked up at Chellaya doubtfully.

"Lord", he said, "I cannot tell. For how could such a thing be? To the fisher his net, as the saying is. Such things are learnt when one is young as one learns to walk."

Chellaya looked out over the old man's head to the lagoon. Another fisherman was stealing along in the water ready for the cast. Ah, swish out flew the net. No, nothing — yet. O joy, a gleam of silver in the meshes. Chellaya made up his mind suddenly.

"Now, look here, fellow, — tell me this, could you teach me to cast a net?"

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The old man covered his mouth with his hand, for it is not seemly that a fisher should smile in the presence of a Brahman.

“The lord is laughing at me,” he said respectfully.

“I am not laughing, fellow. I have made a vow to Muniyappa that if he would take away the curse which he laid upon my son’s child I would cast a net nightly in the lagoon. Now my son’s child is well. Therefore if you will take me tomorrow night to a spot where no one will see us and bring me a net and teach me to cast it, I will give you five measures of rice. And if you speak a word of this to anyone, I will call down upon your head and your child’s head ten thousand curses of Muniyappa”.

It is dangerous to risk being cursed by a Brahman, so the fisherman agreed and next evening took Chellaya to a bay in the lagoon and showed him how to cast the net. For an hour Chellaya waded about in the shallow water experiencing a dreadful pleasure. Every moment he glanced over his shoulder to the land to make sure that nobody was in sight; every moment came the pang that he was the first Brahman to pollute his caste by fishing; and every moment came the keen joy of hope that this time the net would swish out and fall in a gentle circle upon a silver fish.

Chellaya caught nothing that night, but he had gone too far to turn back. He gave the fisherman two rupees for the net, and hid it under a rock, and every night he went away to the solitary creek, made a little pile of his white Brahman clothes on the sand, and stepped into the shallow water with his net. There he fished until the sun sank. And sometimes now he caught fish which very reluctantly he had to throw back into the water, for he was afraid to carry them back to his wife.

Very soon a strange rumour began to spread in the town that the Brahman Chellaya had polluted his caste by fishing. At first people would not believe it; such a thing could not happen, for it had never happened before. But at last so many people told the story, — and one man had seen Chellaya carrying a net and another had seen him wading in the lagoon — that everyone began to believe it, the lower castes with great pleasure and the Brahmans with great shame and anger.

Hardly had people begun to believe this rumour than an almost stranger thing began to be talked of. The Brahman Chittampalam, who was Chellaya’s neighbour, had polluted his caste, it was said,

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ripple, and bending forward with the nets in their hands ready to cast. And then the joy of the capture, the great leaping twisting silver fish in the net at last. He began to hate his compound and his fat wife and the interminable talk in the temple, and those long dreary evenings when he stood under his umbrella at the side of his rice field and watched the Mukkuwas ploughing or sowing or reaping.

As Chellaya grew older he became more and more convinced that the only pleasure in life was to be a fisher and to catch fish. This troubled him not a little, for the Fisher caste is a low caste and no Brahman had ever caught a fish. It would be utter pollution and losing of caste to him. One day however when he went down to sit in his accustomed place by the side of the lagoon, he found a fisherman sitting on the sand there mending his net.

"Fisher", said Chellaya, "could one who has never had a net in his hand and was no longer young learn how to cast it?"

Chellaya was a small round fat man, but he had spoken with great dignity. The fisher knew at once that he was a Brahman and salaamed, touching the ground with his forehead.

"Lord", he said, "the boy learns to cast the net when he is still at his mother's breast."

"O foolish dog of a fisher", said Chellaya pretending to be very angry, "can you not understand? Suppose one who was not a fisher and was well on in years wished to fish — for a vow or even for play — could such a one learn to cast the net?"

The old fisherman screwed up his wrinkled face and looked up at Chellaya doubtfully.

"Lord", he said, "I cannot tell. For how could such a thing be? To the fisher his net, as the saying is. Such things are learnt when one is young, as one learns to walk."

Chellaya looked out over the old man's head to the lagoon. Another fisherman was stealing along in the water ready for the cast. Ah, swish out flew the net. No, nothing — yes. O joy, a gleam of silver in the meshes. Chellaya made up his mind suddenly.

"Now, look here, fellow, — tell me this, could you teach me to cast a net?"

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by carrying earth on his head. And this rumour also was true and it happened in this way.

Chittampalam was a taciturn man and a miser. If his thin scraggy wife used three chillies, where she might have done with two for the curry, he beat her soundly. About the time that Chellaya began to fish in secret, the water in Chittampalam's well began to grow brackish. It became necessary to dig a new well in the compound, but to dig a well means paying a lower caste man to do the work; for the earth that is taken out has to be carried away on the head, and it is pollution for a Brahman to carry earth on his head. So Chittampalam sat in his compound thinking for many days how to avoid paying a man to dig a new well; and meanwhile the taste of the water from the old well became more and more unpleasant. At last it became impossible even for Chittampalam's wife to drink the water, there was only one way out of it; a new well must be dug and he could not bring himself to pay for the digging; he must dig the well himself. So every night for a week Chittampalam went down to the darkest corner of his compound and dug a well and carried earth on his head and thereby polluted his caste.

The other Brahmans were enraged with Chellaya and Chittampalam and, after abusing them and calling them pariahs, they cast them out for ever from the Brahman caste and refused to eat or drink with them or to talk to them; and they took an oath that their children's children should never marry with the grandsons and granddaughters of Chellaya and Chittampalam. But if people of other castes talked to them of the matter, they denied all knowledge of it and swore that no Brahman had ever caught fish or carried earth on his head. Chittampalam was not much concerned at the anger of the Brahmans, for he had saved the hire of a well-digger and he had never taken pleasure in the conversation of other Brahmans and, besides, he shortly after died.

Chellaya, being a small fat man and of a more pleasant and therefore more sensitive nature, felt his sin and the disapproval of his friends deeply. For some days he gave up his fishing, but they were weary days to him and he gained nothing, for the Brahmans still refused to talk to him. All day long in the temple and in his compound he sat and thought of his evenings when he waded in the blue waters of the lagoon, and of the little islands resting like plumes of smoke or feathers upon the sky, and of the line of pink flamingoes like thin posts at regular intervals set to mark a channel, and of the silver gleam of darting fish. In the evening,

THE TWO BRAHMANS

when he knew the fishermen were taking out their nets, his longing became intolerable: he dared not go down to the lagoon for he knew that his desire would master him. So for five nights he sat in his compound, and, as the saying is, his fat went off in desire. On the sixth night he could stand it no longer; once more he polluted his caste by catching fish.

After this Chellaya no longer tried to struggle against himself but continued to fish until at the age of fifty he died. Then, as time went on, the people who had known Chellaya and Chittampalam died too, and the story of how each had polluted his caste began to be forgotten. Only it was known in Yalpanam that no Brahman could marry into those two families, because there was something wrong with their caste. Some said that Chellaya had carried earth on his head and that Chittampalam had caught fish: in any case the descendants of Chellaya and Chittampalam had to go to distant villages to find Brahman wives and husbands for their sons and daughters.

Chellaya's hut and Chittampalam's hut still stand where they stood under the coconut trees by the side of the lagoon, and in one lives Chellaya, the great-great-great-grandson of Chellaya who caught fish, and in the other Chittampalam the great-great-great-grandson of Chittampalam who carried earth on his head. Chittampalam has a very beautiful daughter and Chellaya has one son unmarried. Now this son saw Chittampalam's daughter by accident through the fence of the compound, and he went to his father and said :

"They say that our neighbour's daughter will have a big dowry; should we not make a proposal of marriage?"

The father had often thought of marrying his son to Chittampalam's daughter, not because he had seen her through the compound fence but because he had reason to believe that her dowry would be large. But he had never mentioned it to his wife or to his son, because he knew that it was said that an ancestor of Chittampalam had once dug a well and carried earth on his head. Now however that his son himself suggested the marriage, he approved of the idea, and, as the custom is, told his wife to go to Chittampalam's house and look at the girl. So his wife went formally to Chittampalam's house for the visit preparatory to an offer of marriage, and she came back and reported that the girl was beautiful and fit for even her son to marry.

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Chittampalam had himself often thought of proposing to Chellaya that Chellaya's son should marry his daughter, but he had been ashamed to do this because he knew that Chellaya's ancestor had caught fish and thereby polluted his caste. Otherwise the match was desirable, for he would be saved from all the trouble of finding a husband for her in some distant village. However, if Chellaya himself proposed it, he made up his mind not to put any difficulties in the way. The next time that the two met, Chellaya made the proposal and Chittampalam accepted it and then they went back to Chellaya's compound to discuss the question of dowry. As is usual in such cases the father of the girl wants the dowry to be small and the father of the boy wants it to be large, and all sorts of reasons are given on both sides why it should be small or large, and the argument begins to grow warm. The argument became so warm that at last Chittampalam lost his temper and said.

"One thousand rupees! Is that what you want? Why, a fisher should take the girl with no dowry at all!"

"Fisher!" shouted Chellaya. "Who would marry into the pariah caste, that defiles itself by digging wells and carrying earth on its head? You had better give two thousand rupees to a pariah to take your daughter out of your house!"

"Fisher! Low caste dog!" shouted Chittampalam.

"Pariah!" screamed Chellaya.

Chittampalam rushed from the compound and for many days the two Brahmans refused to talk a word to one another. At last Chellaya's son, who had again seen the daughter of Chittampalam through the fence of the compound, talked to his father and then to Chittampalam, and the quarrel was healed and they began to discuss again the question of dowry. But the old words rankled and they were still sore, as soon as the discussion began to grow warm it ended once more by their calling each other "Fisher" and "Pariah". The same thing has happened now several times, and Chittampalam is beginning to think of going to distant villages to find a husband for his daughter. Chellaya's son is very unhappy, he goes down every evening and sits by the waters of the blue lagoon on the very spot where his great-great-great-grandfather Chellaya used to sit and watch the fishermen cast their nets.

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